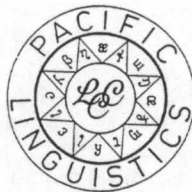


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PAPERS IN SOUTHEAST ASIAN
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STUDIES IN BURMESE LANGUAGES

edited by
David Bradley



Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

This volume contains four papers on Burmese linguistics.

The first paper, by John Okell, describes the phonology and grammatical markers and provides texts of three major dialects: Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan. None of these has been comprehensively described before. The sections on these dialects follow a parallel format. They are preceded by a short foreword giving the conventions adopted, and followed by a collected set of references.

Arakanese, with approximately two million speakers, is the state language of Rakhine (formerly Arakan) State in Burma and is also spoken by a substantial minority in south-eastern Bangladesh and parts of north-eastern India. The dialect has been separate from standard Burmese for approximately five centuries. Until two centuries ago Arakan was also politically separate from Burma. The speakers in Bangladesh and India migrated from Arakan during these two centuries: the Marma immediately after the Burmese conquest in the 1780s, and the 'Mogh' or 'Magh' more recently. Okell's paper gives comprehensive references to the previous literature on this dialect; for a recent description of the phonology in a historical context see Bradley (1985).

Intha, spoken by about 90,000 people around In-lè lake in the south-eastern part of the Shan State in eastern central Burma, is even more different from standard Burmese. Okell's paper in this volume is the first comprehensive description of this dialect, which is surrounded by speakers of Karen, Shan and other languages. In the same general area are two other dialects of Burmese, Danu and Taungyo, which remain virtually undescribed; but see Luce (1985) and Yabu (1981) for some limited data. The Intha, Danu and Taungyo probably represent the vestiges of early Burman settlement in the valleys and low hills to the east of the central plain. The main body of Burmans conquered the plains from the Pyu, Mon and other groups about a millenium ago, leaving these dialects in the hills to the east, as well as Hpun (Luce 1985, Henderson 1986) along the Irrawaddy north of Bhamo. A further group of closely related Burmish languages includes Maru, Atsi, Lashi and Ngochang, further to the north-east along the border between Burma and China; these groups have been assimilated into the Kachin/Shan culture complex described in Leach (1954). Yaw, another distinctive dialect of Burmese, is spoken in a valley to the west of the central plain; Okell (1989) has provided a comprehensive study of this dialect in the same format as the three major sections of his paper in this volume.

The third dialect discussed by Okell is Tavoyan, spoken along the coast of south-eastern Burma by about 400,000 people. Like Arakanese, it has often been politically separate from central Burma; Tavoy was a bone of contention between the Thais and the Burmans for many centuries. Again, Okell's paper here provides the first comprehensive description of this dialect. For further details of the location and populations of the various varieties of Burmese and Burmish languages, see Bradley (1994).

All three dialects described here have a very valuable contribution to make to the study of the history of Burmese and the Burmish languages. Each preserves contrasts absent from modern standard Burmese and in a few cases even from the earliest inscriptional records of Old Burmese starting at the beginning of the twelfth century AD. On the other hand all are now under strong influence from standard Burmese, which is disseminated through education, government and the media, and so most speakers are bidialectal. This leads to a fascinating pattern of sociolinguistic influence from the standard into the other dialects, which is occasionally seen in the data provided here by Okell and can be much more pervasive in the speech of younger or more assimilated dialect speakers. This dialect contact situation is briefly summarised in Bradley (forthcoming) but awaits further detailed study.

The following two papers, by Bradley and by Thein-Tun, discuss aspects of the syntax of standard Burmese. Bradley's paper is a comprehensive synchronic description of the three main reflexive constructions in Burmese which also sets these constructions in the historical context of early Burmese inscriptions and briefly compares reflexives in closely related Tibeto-Burman languages. This data has never been observed or collected before. In fact there has been confusion and disagreement in the prescriptive grammar of Burmese about the form of one of the three reflexives, which this study resolves.

Thein-Tun's paper concerns the classification of verbs. Starting from the exhaustive study by Okell (1969), he reclassifies intransitive verbs according to their meaning and argues against the mixed structural and functional description provided by Okell.

The final paper in the volume provides the first modern phonological description of Burma's only Austronesian language, Moken, spoken off the southern coast of Burma in the same general area as the Tavoyan dialect of Burmese. The Moken are a nomadic seafaring group also found in Thailand, with an outlying southern village on Phuket island. Known in Burmese as *Saloun*, elsewhere they are included in the wider category of coastal fishermen known in Thai as *chao thalee*, and in Malay as *orang laut*, (both meaning 'people of the sea').

All of the papers use the same conventions for transliterating written Burmese and transcribing spoken Burmese; these are described here.

TRANSLITERATION

Burmese has an Indic orthography adapted from Mon at the beginning of the twelfth century AD. Orthographic forms, both inscriptional and modern, are represented in bold typeface transliteration here, according to the following system. This differs in some minor respects from the transliteration often used in the epigraphical literature; the changes make this transliteration more parallel to the modern transcriptions and probably more accurately reflect the early pronunciation. The following table follows the traditional order of citation.

					' (glottal stop)				
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
ကြ	ခွ	ဂွ		ငွ	<i>kr</i>	<i>khr</i>	<i>gr</i>		<i>ŋr</i>
ကျ	ချ	ဂျ			<i>ky</i>	<i>khy</i>	<i>gy</i>		
ဗ	ဗွ	ဂ်			<i>kl</i>	<i>khl</i>	<i>gl</i>		
စ	ဆ	ဇ	ဈ	ည	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
တ	ထ	ဒ	ဓ	န	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
ပ	ဖ	ဗ	ဘ	မ	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
ပြ	ဖွ	ဗွ	ဘွ	မ္	<i>pr</i>	<i>phr</i>	<i>br</i>	<i>bhr</i>	<i>mr</i>
ပျ	ဖျ	ဗျ	ဘျ	မျ	<i>py</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>bhy</i>	<i>my</i>
လှ	လွ			လ္	<i>pl</i>	<i>phl</i>			<i>ml</i>
ယ	ရ	လ	ဝ		<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	
သ	ဟ				<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>			

The medial *l* clusters are absent from the modern standard orthography, but Intha and Tavoyan preserve them, paralleling their use in early inscriptions. Similarly, Arakanese preserves *r*, initial and medial, which remains in the modern orthography but not in the standard spoken language. Medial *w* clusters exist with most of the above consonants and clusters, preceding the rhymes *a e ai/ay am an aŋ ap at ak*. Voiced stops are very infrequent in early inscriptions and still relatively infrequent in modern orthography, but juncture voicing has created a large number of voiced stops in the spoken language. There are special letters for certain combinations of glottal stop plus vowel, as in most Indic writing systems. There are also some additional consonants representing Indic retroflexes, but these are not used in native Burmese vocabulary. In addition, the nasals and sonorants exist in voiceless versions; these are written with a subscript *h*, and transliterated here with a preceding *h*.

က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဇ	ည	ဓ	န	မ	လ	ယ	ရ	ဟ	သ
က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	ဇ	ည	ဓ	န	မ	လ	ယ	ရ	ဟ	သ

hŋ hŋr hñ hn hm hmr hmy

hy hr hl hw

The orthographic rhymes can be divided into three categories: open-syllable, nasal-final and stop-final. In open-syllable rhymes, the Indic distinction between long and short vowels is used to represent tonal differences: a short vowel (where available) represents the 'creaky' tone, while a long vowel is used for the 'heavy' and 'low', 'level' or 'even' tones. In early inscriptions somewhat different conventions (shown in parentheses below) are used for spelling some of the open-syllable rhymes, with considerable variation at the earliest stages. The hyphen represents the position of the syllable-initial consonant or cluster relative to the vowel indications.

◌ ₁	◌ ₂		<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>
◌ ₁	◌ ₂		<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>
(zero)	◌ ₁		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
◌ ₁	(◌ ₁ ◌ ₂)		<i>e</i> (<i>iy</i>)	
◌ ₁	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂		<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
◌ ₁	(◌ ₁ ◌ ₂)		<i>ui</i> (<i>uiw</i>)	
◌ ₁	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂		<i>ai</i>	<i>ay</i>

The nasal-final and stop-final rhymes are almost exactly parallel. Final *m* is written in two different ways, depending on the vowel and tone; this distinction is purely orthographic, is not consistently followed in early inscriptions, and is not indicated below.

◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂ / ◌ ₁	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂ / ◌ ₁	<i>im</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>am</i>
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>in</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>an</i>
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>aññ</i>	<i>añ</i>	
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>oŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>ip</i>	<i>up</i>	<i>ap</i>
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>it</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>at</i>
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂			<i>ac</i>		
◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	◌ ₁ ◌ ₂	<i>uik</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>ak</i>

Tones in Burmese, which contrast on all but stop-final syllables, are orthographically represented in a variety of ways:

short V	'creaky' (<i>i u a</i>)
long V	'level/even/low' (<i>ī ū ā</i>)
V (no diacritic)	'level/even/low' (<i>e ui</i> and nasal-finals)
long V + :	'heavy' (<i>ī: ū: ā: e: ui:</i> and nasal-finals)
following subscript .	'creaky' (for <i>e. o. ui. ai.</i> and nasal-finals)
<i>ai o</i> are 'heavy'; <i>ay ō</i> are 'level/even/low'	

The phonetic characteristics of the tones of early Burmese are a matter of debate. Bradley (1982) discusses their historical status and hypothesises an early register system. Thein-Tun (1982) describes their current acoustic characteristics, which include pitch, contour, phonation, duration and intensity characteristics as well as vowel quality effects in a package which Bradley (1982) calls "tonation".

The use of : for the 'heavy' tone is rare in early inscriptions, but has been consistent for several centuries now. Many other inconsistencies in the representation of the tones and vowels occur in the earliest inscriptions.

TRANSCRIPTION

A broad phonetic transcription is used for modern spoken standard Burmese in this volume. The following chart shows the modern initials.

<i>p</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>ph</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ñ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>hm</i>	<i>hmy</i>	<i>hn</i>		<i>hñ</i>	<i>hŋ</i>
		<i>θ</i>			<i>h</i>
		(<i>ð</i>)			
<i>w</i>		<i>l</i>		<i>y</i>	
(<i>hw</i>)		<i>hl</i>		<i>ʃ</i>	

The sounds /hw/ and /ð/ are marginal. The former is found mainly in literary words. The latter is exclusively the product of juncture voicing, which in normal speech produces voiced stops and fricatives from the voiceless ones, aspirated or unaspirated, when another syllable of any type other than stop-final within the same juncture group immediately precedes it.¹ Diachronically, almost all of the voiced stops and fricatives are secondary and most are transparently derived from current voiceless counterparts.

The rhymes of modern spoken Burmese, like those of written Burmese, can be divided into three sets: oral, nasalised and stop-final. The following chart shows these in the broad phonetic transcription used here.

oral	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>
	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
	<i>a</i>	
nasalised	<i>in</i>	<i>un</i>
	<i>ein</i>	<i>oun</i>
	<i>ain</i>	<i>aun</i>
	<i>an</i>	
stopped	<i>i'</i>	<i>u'</i>
	<i>ei'</i>	<i>ou'</i>
	<i>ɛ'</i>	
	<i>ai'</i>	<i>au'</i>
	<i>a'</i>	

¹ In the papers by Okell and Bradley, juncture voicing is indicated as used in normal tempo speech. In extremely careful speech there is less voicing, and in rapid speech there is more. Thein-Tun's paper does not indicate juncture voicing.

For narrow phonetic details of the rhymes of Burmese, see Thein-Tun (1982) and Bradley (1985).

The usual description of standard Burmese includes three tones, usually called:

creaky

level or low or even

heavy

These three contrast in open and nasal syllables. In addition, there is a fourth alternative, stop-final, which is the only possibility for syllables with a final stop. This final stop is a glottal stop in isolation, but assimilates to a following consonant within the juncture group in place of articulation. Furthermore, non-final syllables in a two or more syllable word have an additional alternative, called 'weak' or 'reduced', which consists of an initial consonant plus the vowel /ə/; again there is no tonal contrast for this syllable type; it represents a neutralisation of vowel and tonal contrasts. Such syllables are often written in ways which reflect their earlier full-syllable status; hence the term 'reduced'. The characteristics of these five types of syllable are shown in the following table.

	PITCH	CONTOUR	PHONATION	DURATION	FINAL
creaky	high	level	creaky	long	(variable glottal stop)
level/even/low	low	level	normal	very long	
heavy	mid/high	falling	breathy	very long	
stopped	very high	level	normal	short	stop (glottal or other)
weak	(varies)	level	normal	very short	

In the broad transcription used here, heavy tone is indicated by a grave accent over the vowel of the syllable; creaky tone is indicated by an acute accent; level/even/low tone is unmarked, as are weak/reduced syllables where there is no tonal opposition. Stopped syllables are represented with a following '.

PROPER NAMES

There are various ways in which Burmese people romanise proper names for persons, places and so on. In this volume, the normal English conventions for the most usual place names are followed: Burma for the country, Burmese for the language, Burman for people who speak this language natively and are of Burmese race, Rangoon for the capital, and so on. The government introduced new English versions of some of these names in 1989, including Myanmar for Burma and Burmese, Yangon for the capital, and so on. These are not widely used outside the country.

Traditional Burmese names do not contain a surname. Each individual's own preferred romanisation of his own name is followed; where this is not known, and for village names, the name is transcribed as described above. Most of the place and personal names which do not use the transcription adopt the following conventions, which completely avoid phonetic symbols.

PROPER NAME USAGE

*hp hpy ht hs hc hk**th**ny hny ng hng**sh**ay aw a**aing aung**it ut eit out et at**aik auk*

BROAD TRANSCRIPTION

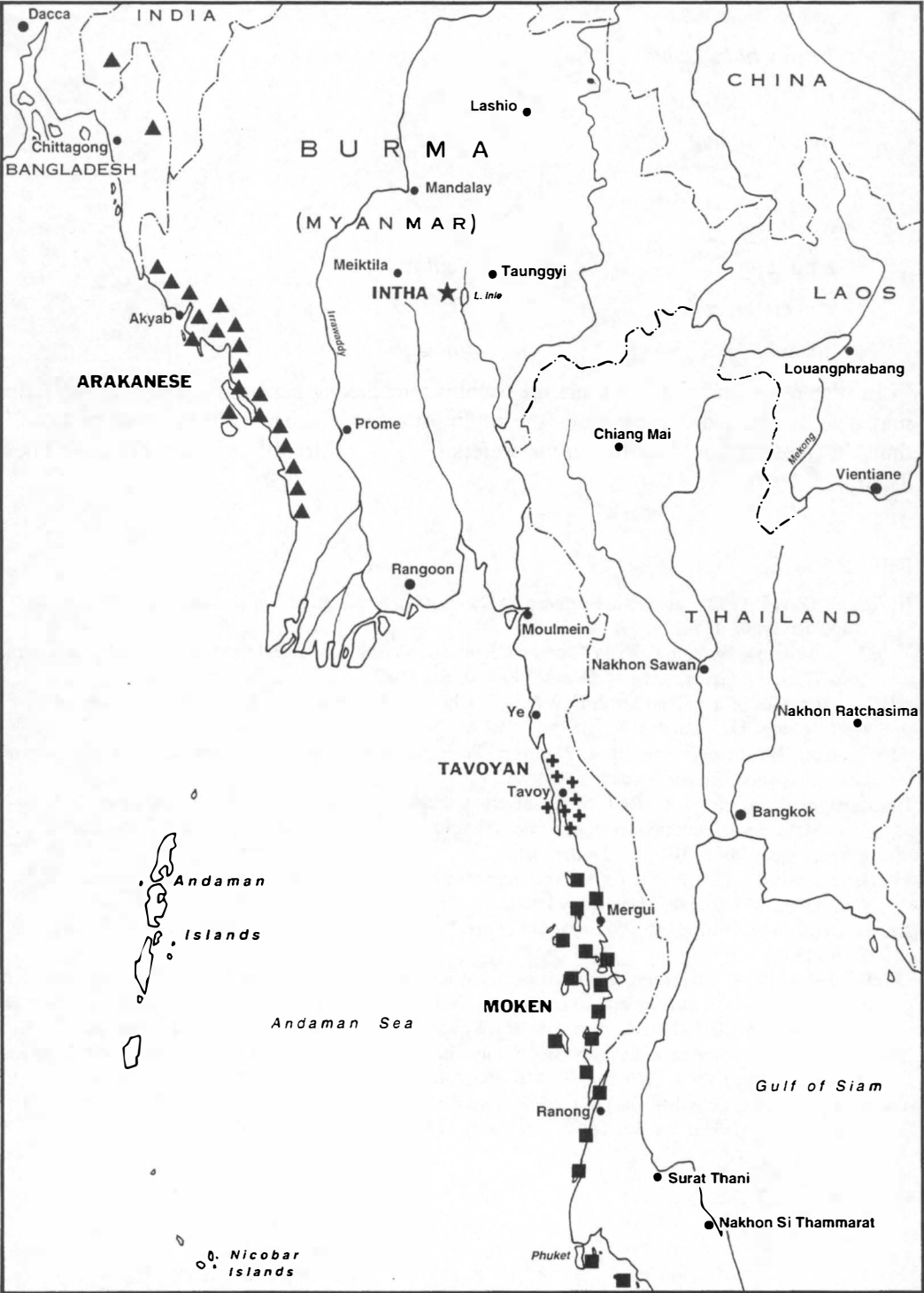
*ph phy th sh ch kh**θ ð**ñ hñ ŋ hŋ**ʃ**ɛ ɔ ə**ain aun**i' u' ei' ou' ɛ' a'**ai' au'*

In such representations the tones are usually unmarked; other contrasts such as aspiration may also be omitted. For example, the author of one of the papers in this volume is /θèin thùn/ in transcription, but the author prefers to refer to himself as Thein-Tun, not Thein Thun.

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MAP: BURMA (MYANMAR)

THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

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1. FOREWORD

Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan are three regional dialects of Burmese. Speakers of Standard Burmese find them hard to follow at first, but after living in a dialect region for a week or two they find they are adjusting to the alternative phonology and the regional vocabulary, and after that spoken communication presents few problems.

Although the dialects are so close to the standard language, there are insights to be gained from the study both of their relationship to it, and of the relationship of the dialects and the standard to Written Burmese, the spelling of which (developed in the twelfth century and standardised in the eighteenth) offers clues to the nature of the language in earlier times. These various manifestations, taken together, throw light on problems of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary in both Written Burmese and Standard Burmese, and all contribute to the reconstruction of Proto Burmish.

Most studies of the dialects (see bibliography) have focussed on differences in phonology, with some observations on vocabulary. The foundation of each of the present papers is a set of recordings of natural unscripted speech, transcribed extracts from which are included in the papers. These recordings not only were the starting point for the further investigation of phonology and vocabulary, but also provided numerous examples of the way syntactic markers in the dialects differ from those of standard Burmese. The transcribed extracts also convey the flavour of each dialect, revealing the frequency of deviations from standard spoken Burmese, in a way which does not emerge from lists of sounds and words.

The three sets of notes which follow, on Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan, have essentially the same format as my notes on the Yaw dialect (Okell 1989). Each has a section on the dialect region, a section on phonology, grammar and vocabulary, comparing features of the dialect with Written Burmese and Standard (spoken) Burmese, and a section containing the extracts from the recordings. For a description of Spoken Burmese see Okell (1969), and for Written Burmese forms see any standard dictionary, for example *Myanma-za aḥphwé* (1978-80), *Myanma-za aḥphwé* (1991), Judson (1921 and later editions), and Hoke Sein (1981).

1.1 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. Abbreviations for dialects

AR	Arakanese dialect	TV	Tavoyan dialect
IT	Intha dialect	WB	Written Burmese
SB	Standard Burmese (spoken language)	YW	Yaw dialect

David Bradley, ed. *Papers in Southeast Asian linguistics* No.13: *studies in Burmese languages*, 1-138. *Pacific Linguistics*, A-83, 1995.

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B. Abbreviations for references

BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Census	1911 (see also Webb 1912, Grantham 1923 and Bennison 1933).
Gaz.B	Gazetteer of Burma (see Lowis 1908)
Gaz.LB	Gazetteer of Lower Burma (see Spearman 1879 & 1880)
Gaz.UB	Gazetteer of Upper Burma (see Spearman 1879 & 1880)
JBRS	Journal of the Burma Research Society
LSB	Linguistic Survey of Burma (see Webb 1917)
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India (see Grierson 1903-1928)
MSTK	<i>Myan-ma sa-lòun-bàun tha'-poun càn</i> [Burmese spelling book]

All references are collected and listed at the end of the paper.

C. Abbreviations for form classes and syntactic functions

ACC	accusative marker	POL	polite suffix
ADV	adverb formative	PT	past time
CLF	classifier	Q	question marker
EMP	emphatic postposition	QUO	quoted
EUPH	euphonic suffix	REL	relative clause marker
EXCL	exclamatory suffix	SUBJ	subject marker
OB	Old Burmese	VSMK	verb-sentence marker
PL	plural marker		

Entries in the lists of grammatical markers in §2.33, §3.3.3 and §4.3.3 are listed alphabetically, and each entry includes a grammatical classification, one or more SB equivalents, some examples, and occasionally a note on other points of interest. Most examples are taken from the texts in §2.4, §3.4 and §4.4. These examples are given references: for example 2.13 = text 2, sentence 13 of the appropriate language text. Other examples are from transcriptions of recordings not reproduced here, referred to as 'rec'; or from examples offered by informants or encountered in conversation, referred to as 'inf'.

In the transcriptions of texts in §2.4, §3.4 and §4.4, where the speakers correct themselves, false starts are transcribed within [-].

2. ARAKANESE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

'/Pín-yi' mənain, Yəkhain mè/' goes the saying: 'If you don't know whether to spell it with a *y* or an *r*, ask an Arakanese'. The dialect enjoys some renown among speakers of Standard Burmese (SB), if only because it preserves the /r/, which, though still distinguished in Burmese spelling, is merged in speech with /y/.

2.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

Arakan (AR /Rɔ'-khain/, SB /Yəkhain/; the English romanisation was officially altered to 'Rakhine' in 1989) is a narrow coastal strip on the west of Burma, some 300 miles long and 50 to 20 miles wide. It is much intersected by steep and thickly wooded mountain spurs, and by rivers, which provide the best means of communication; and it is separated from the

central plains by a range of mountains, the Arakan Yò-má, along which the administrative boundary runs today.

It is hardly surprising that in this sort of terrain there should be variations in the dialect. Most informants recognise three main varieties, corresponding to the three administrative Districts of the Arakan Division: 'Arakanese proper' in Sit-twe (Akyab) District in the north; the dialect of Kyauk-hpyu and Yàn-byè (Ramree) in the centre; and the Than-dwè (Sandoway) in the south. The further south one goes, they say, the closer to Standard Burmese the dialect becomes. This observation is in fact borne out by some published notes on the Kyauk-hpyu variety (Ono 1969a): though in other respects the same as the Sit-twe dialect, it has the SB rhymes for Written Burmese (WB) *ak*, *aŋ*, and for *at*, *an* and *ap*, *am*.

There are also said to be three minor varieties: that of Man-aung (Cheduba) Island, opposite the boundary between Kyauk-hpyu and Than-dwè Districts; that of the northern part of Sit-twe District, also spoken beyond the border of Bangladesh; and Marma, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. These varieties are here called 'minor' because the scraps of information I was given indicated that each one differs very little from one or other of the 'main' varieties. Marma, for example, the only one that has been documented (D. Bernot 1957), seems to be phonologically identical with Sit-twe Arakanese except for the use of /gy, ky, khy/ for Sit-twe /j, c, ch/. They are worth mentioning separately, however, as informants recognise them as distinct groups.

One of the Arakanese returns for the *Linguistic survey of Burma* (LSB) went so far as to distinguish different dialects in Sit-twe and nearby Yathéi-daung and Pon-nagyùn (Webb 1917:32). I have no information on these distinctions, which, if they exist at all, are probably very fine.

'Chàung-thà' is a term of various applications. The LSB (Webb 1917:55) lists it as a separate dialect, not a sub-dialect of Arakanese. L. Bernot (1967b:71) inclines to regard it as applying originally to valley dwellers, whether linguistically Arakanese or not, who were some distance from the political and administrative centre; but other authors (quoted by L. Bernot 1967b:73) agree with my informants in treating Chàung-thà as the minor variety of Arakanese spoken north of Sit-twe.

The 'Mugs' have on occasion been listed as a separate race or tribe (Mason, quoted in Forbes 1878:211) but in fact the term is only a name used in former times for the Arakanese by their neighbours to the west and by Europeans (see e.g. Buchanan 1798:223, Leyden 1808:222, Forbes 1878:212, LSI (Grierson 1904:379), L. Bernot 1960b:19).

The available early population figures are as follows:

	LSB (1917:55)	Census 1921 (1933:198)	Census 1931 (1933:198)	L. Bernot (1960:19)
Arakanese	50,163	247,691	221,945	-
Yàn-byè	59,024	250,018	326,642	-
Chàung-thà	64,531	9,052	34,625	-
unspecified	149,547	-	-	-
Kaman [?]	1,211	-	-	-
Marma	-	-	-	c.100,000
total	324,386	506,761	583,212	

The divergences indicate the unreliability of the early figures, but when these are compared with those for other dialects of Burmese, one point that does emerge clearly is that, next to SB, AR has the largest number of speakers in the group. The 1983 Census of Burma enumerated 1,536,725 'Rakhine'; a current estimate would be over two million speakers including the 'Mogh' in India and Bangladesh and the Marma in Bangladesh.

2.1.2 BACKGROUND

The first Arakanese are said to have entered their present area in the mid tenth century (San Shwe Bu 1960:488). In the fifteenth century they let the mountains cut their connections with their Burmese relatives in the central plains, and turned to the west. They used the support of the Sultan of Bengal, accessible up the coast, and of the Portuguese, who came by sea, to establish a great empire. With its capital at Myauk-ù (now Myó-hàung), this flourished for 200 years. After a period of decline in Arakan the Burmese finally conquered it (in 1784) and made it part of their dominion. It was one of the first regions of Burma to be annexed by the British (in 1826), who subsequently administered it as a Division within Burma, a status which it retained in independent Burma until 1974, when it was made a separate state within the Union. For a more detailed survey see Bradley (1985).

In spite of their early ties with central Burma, including the Buddhist religion, and nearly two centuries of administration as part of Burma, the Arakanese, assisted by their geography, have preserved a strong sense of separateness. They point with pride to the differences between the lettering of their early inscriptions and that of the inscriptions of central Burma, to their different way of reciting the alphabet and to their musical instruments, song forms, and separate calendar; and they send a separate cultural mission to perform their own regional songs and dances at the festivities of Union Day.

2.1.3 THE 'PURITY' OF ARAKANESE

Throughout the literature there runs a recurrent theme that Arakanese is a 'more ancient' or 'purer' form of the language than Standard Burmese (e.g. Leyden 1808:233, Forbes 1881:57, Houghton 1897:455, Taylor 1921:91, L. Bernot 1967b:36ff.). This claim generally means that Arakanese pronunciation corresponds more closely to Written Burmese than does that of Standard Burmese.

In fact, both forms of speech have developed since the language achieved its present written form, each one further in some directions than the other. AR certainly maintains its well-known distinction between WB *r* and *y*, and between *arj* and *añ*, which SB has merged; it rhymes *at*, *an* with *wat*, *wan*, which SB has split; and its use of voicing is less widespread. On the other hand SB distinguishes *ac*, *añ* from *uik*, *uij*; *wa* from *o*; *e* from *i*; and *i,u* from *in,un* – which are wholly or partly merged in AR; and it uses weakening much less freely. It is not easy to quantify these points (AR has three mergers, one part-merger, and more weakening; SB has two mergers, one split, and more voicing), but it is clear that the AR claim to be 'more ancient' or 'purer' than SB is by no means so obvious as has been assumed.

2.1.4 'ARAKANESSE LITERATURE'

Claims are sometimes heard for a distinct tradition of Arakanese writing, with talk of 'Arakanese script' and 'Arakanese literature', often linked with the alleged antiquity of the dialect. This is not an appropriate place to discuss such claims, but it is perhaps relevant to sound a note of caution, since pride of race can generate an enthusiasm not justified by the evidence so far available, and unwary students of the dialect may be misled.

As regards script, the position tends to be confused by the presence in Arakan of a good dozen inscriptions in Sanskrit and Pali, written in Indian scripts dating from periods between the fifth and eleventh centuries AD (Thàn Thùn 1964 ch.1; Johnston 1943, Pamela Gutman pers.comm.). Inscriptions in the 'Arakanese language' and 'Arakanese script' on the other hand seem to be no older than the fifteenth century (Forchhammer 1891:39). The probability is that the earlier inscriptions were written by a people who had no ethnic or linguistic connection with the Arakanese (San Shwe Bu 1960:488).

Nonetheless the existence of the earlier inscriptions has led Arakanese enthusiasts to trace a direct descent from the Brahmi, Kushan and Gupta scripts to Arakanese Rakkhavanna (e.g. Û òa Thùn 1959:41; Aun òa Û 1966:8), ignoring the alternative, and on the face of it more likely, hypothesis that the Arakanese acquired their script much later from central Burma – a hypothesis which would remove the aura of age from the culture. On the other hand, some of the letters shown as fifteenth to eighteenth century Rakkhavanna (È Cò 1958:3) do differ from inscriptional Burmese – particularly the letters *bh*, *r* and *s*; and the formulae used for reciting the alphabet and syllabary are certainly not all the same as those of SB (Bá òèin 1968).

As regards 'Arakanese literature', apart from a considerable body of folk songs (e.g. Bá San 1966:20ff.), which are presumably an oral tradition later committed to writing, there seem to be no works primarily intended for reading which are entirely in the Arakanese dialect.

Texts written before the modern period contain some Arakanisms of spelling and vocabulary. For example:

<i>shyac-che</i>	for WB	<i>hrac-chay</i>	(1521 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:38)
<i>pī</i>		<i>pe:</i>	(1594 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:39 and Ou'-ka Mīn-ñio 1968:9)
<i>cuiŋ</i>		<i>cañ</i>	(Forchhammer 1891:39)
<i>jā-kui lā:</i>		<i>bhay-kui swā:</i>	(c.1800 poem: Rəwein-dá 1959:254)

These features however are not consistent, and are used alongside forms regarded as Standard Burmese rather than Arakanese. For example:

<i>kampay</i>	not	<i>*kampe</i>	(the 1521 inscription)
<i>hrwe</i>		<i>*hrwi</i>	(the 1594 inscription)
<i>swā:</i>		<i>*lā:</i>	(1800 poem: 256)
<i>bhay</i>		<i>*jā</i>	(1800 poem: 256)

The inconsistency makes it difficult to appreciate fervent exclamations such as: "In this poem the Kīn Hsaya writes *paññā-hi* [instead of *paññāhyi*], so unmistakably revealing his Arakanese origins. He deserves high praise for this unswerving loyalty and love for his race" (Rəwein-dá 1959:251).

Articles written since the war in a spirit of linguistic revivalism come nearer to reproducing the Arakanese dialect in writing. They use some spellings designed to show AR pronunciations (mainly *ī* for *e*), and AR forms (e.g. *hi*, *kha*, *pain*, *rā* for WB *hri*/*hyi*, *khai*., *lui*, *sā*), but unfortunately these are often interspersed throughout (e.g. Bá ðèin 1968) with suffixes appropriate to formal Burmese and not used in colloquial AR (e.g. *saññ*, *so*, *sui*., *eññ*., *so-laññ*:), which destroys the authenticity of the text. Even where this difficulty is largely avoided (e.g. Aun Myá 1968), Burmese script is an unsuitable medium for the purpose and inconsistencies occur. For example: if *te* for AR /te/ = WB *tay*, why not *le* for AR /le/ = WB *lay*? And why keep the two spellings *ac* and *uik* for the one rhyme AR /ai'/? This approach is hardly better than the 'eh ba goom' style of writing for northern English.

Despite the existence therefore of many Arakanese writers whose works are rightly held in high esteem by Arakanese and central Burmese alike, the language of 'Arakanese literature' is unreliable material for serious linguistic research.

2.1.5 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The material given in the following pages is in the dialect of the Sit-twe District, which has high prestige and tends to be regarded as the standard for Arakan. Most of the notes and recordings were made in 1969 in Sit-twe, the administrative centre for the whole Arakan Division; in Myó-hàung, formerly Myauk-ù, the old cultural capital of the Arakanese; and in Kyauk-taw, 30 miles up the Kaladan river north of Sit-twe, near the Maha Mú-ní pagoda which used to house the famous image of the Buddha so much coveted by the kings east of the mountains. Material collected on this visit is supplemented by notes made on a shorter stay, without a tape-recorder, in 1961.

I made two usable recordings of unprepared speech: one in Sit-twe by Û ða Hnìn, a native of Myó-hàung but resident in Sit-twe for some years, in which he tells his younger colleagues in the Health Department about the work of the Red Cross; and the other in Myó-hàung by Dó Má ða Sein, a lady who had been living in Myó-hàung for 15 years, but had spent her early childhood in Cox's Bazaar. She recounts some of the legends of Cox to her children.

These recordings, when transcribed, provided texts on which most of the analysis is based. Additional material was acquired by directly questioning informants on points not adequately covered by the texts, and by noting down remarks made by friends and hosts talking among themselves.

2.1.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express here my deep gratitude to Û ða Hnìn, who recorded so clearly for me in Sit-twe, and to Dó Má ða Sein, who recorded in Myó-hàung; to Û Òun Tin and Û Bá ðèin of Sit-twe, who helped with the transcription and patiently answered questions; to Dr Hlá Myín, who housed, fed and looked after me in Sit-twe, and Dó ðàn ðàn for her hospitality and helpful suggestions; to Dr È, who not only fed me throughout my stay in Kyauk-taw, but found time, in spite of a dauntingly heavy professional load, to arrange accommodation, show me round, find suitable informants, entertain me and look after my every need; to Û Thùn Hlain, also of Kyauk-taw, for advice and encouragement; to Û Û ða Thùn who kindly gave up time to be my guide and counsellor in Myó-hàung; to Û Aun Pyé

Zoun, attendant at the Myó-hàung circuit house, whose generosity took him far beyond the bounds of duty in helping me in innumerable ways, and finally to all the others, not least the committee of the Arakanese Culture Association, who put themselves out to give me advice and see that I found what I was looking for.

2.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

2.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

2.2.1.1 TONES

heavy	/ḥ/
creaky	/ḥ̣/
low	/+/
stop	/+ʼ/
weak	/ə/

2.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:	weak							
	full	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>(ε)</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Closed syllables:	nasal	<i>ein</i>	<i>ɛn</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>aun</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>oun</i>	
	stop	<i>eiʼ</i>	<i>ɛʼ</i>	<i>aiʼ</i>	<i>auʼ</i>	<i>oʼ</i>	<i>ouʼ</i>	

2.2.1.3 HEADS

						with medial /y/	with medial /r/	with medial /w/
<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>z</i>		<i>by</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>br</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>py</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>pr</i>
<i>kh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>chr</i>	<i>phr</i>
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ñ</i>			<i>my</i>	<i>ŋr</i>	<i>mr</i>
<i>hŋ</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>hñ</i>			<i>hmy</i>	<i>(?hŋr)</i>	<i>hmr</i>
<i>(ʼ)</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>		<i>(ly)</i>		
<i>h</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>hw</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>hr</i>		<i>(hly)</i>		

Medial /w/ occurs with all initials except: /w/ itself
' (since /'w/ would be equivalent to initial /w-/)
h (since /hw/ is already listed among the initials)

2.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

Phonemes are as for SB except as set out below:

/ein, eiʼ; oun, ouʼ/: the vowels here are sometimes less diphthongal than in SB – sometimes close enough for open-syllable /i, u/ to be mistaken for them in rapid speech. Some speakers use the non-diphthongal pronunciation more than others, and some use both.

/ɛn, ɛ'/: vowel as in SB /ɛ'/'

/ɔn, ɔ'/: open back rounded vowel; more open than the vowel in RP English *John*

/r, hr/: apical flapped or rolled; voiced and breathed

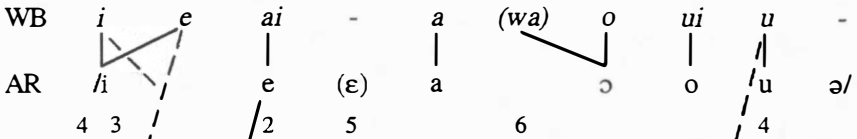
2.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (NUMBERS REFER TO NOTES IN 2.3 BELOW)

2.2.3.1 TONES

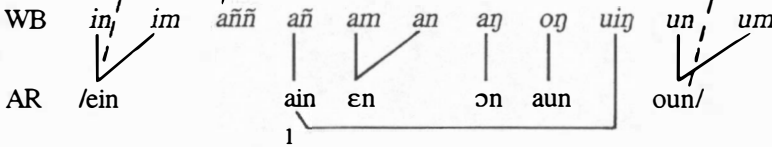
These are generally as for SB (see note 13 in §2.3.1 below).

2.2.3.2 RHYMES

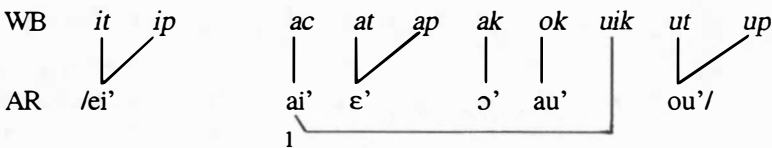
Open syllables



Closed nasal syllables

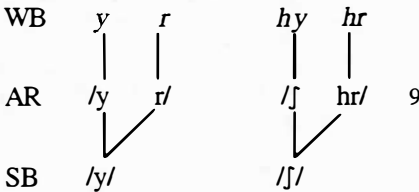


Closed stop syllables



2.2.3.3 HEADS

These are generally as for SB except:



2.3 NOTES

2.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) WB Rhymes in *ac*, *uik* and *añ*, *uiŋ* merge in AR:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>cac</i>	/sai'/	/si'/	be genuine
<i>cuik</i>	/sai'/	/sai'/	implant
<i>pyañ</i>	/pyain/	/pyin/	timber
<i>pruiŋ</i>	/prain/	/pyain/	compete

There are however a few words in *ac*, *añ* for which informants used an SB pronunciation. They said some elderly people still used pronunciations showing the regular correspondences:

WB	obsolescent	modern AR	
	AR	= SB	
<i>paccaññ</i> :	/pai'-sè/	/pyi'-sì/	thing
<i>saññā</i>	/θain-ñā/	/θin-ñā/	mark
<i>paññā</i>	/pain-ñā/	/pyin-ñā/	learning

These words clearly have loan pronunciations since the rhymes /i', in/ do not otherwise exist in the AR inventory.

Another small group of words in *-ñ* are pronounced with AR /ɛn/ instead of the /ain/ one would expect:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>wiññāñ</i>	/wí-ñɛn/	/wí-ñin/	soul
<i>paṭiññāñ</i>	/pədein-ñɛn/	/pədein-ñin/	undertaking

The AR rhyme suggests WB *ān* (*an*) which would in fact be closer to the original Pali: *wiññāṇa*, *paṭiññāṇa*; however, *uyyāñ* (from Pali *uyyāna*) conforms to type:

<i>uyyāñ</i>	/wəyain/	/ú-yin/	garden
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Two other words in *añ* exhibited an irregular correspondence:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>ñañ</i> .	/ñé, ñí/	/ñín/	night
<i>hñañ</i> :	/hñè, hñì/	/hñin/	oppress

(2) Words in WB *aññ*, which vary between /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/ in SB, correspond as a rule with AR /e/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>kraññ</i> .	/kré/	/cí/	look
<i>praññ</i> .	/pré/	/pyé/	be full
<i>thaññ</i> .	/thé/	/thé/	put in

Some words however are pronounced AR /ain/, suggesting WB *añ*:

<i>kraññ</i>	/krain/	/ci/	be clear
<i>khyaññ</i>	/chain/	/chi/	tie

<i>caññ:cim</i>	/sain-zein/	/si-zein/	luxury
<i>laññ-paṇ:</i>	/lain-phòn/	/le-bìn/	neck

Another word pronounced with the AR /ain/ rhyme is written WB *āy* – perhaps it was once *aññ*:

<i>alampāy</i>	/əlen-pain/	/əlan-be/	snake-bite healing
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(3) AR merges WB *i* and *e* in /i/. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>khyī</i>	/chi/	/chi/	carry
<i>khye</i>	/chi/	/che/	cancel

Some words however escape this merger:

WB	AR = SB	
<i>cetanā</i>	/se-dəna/	goodwill
<i>wedana</i>	/we-dəna/	suffering
<i>kywe:</i>	/cwè/	feed
<i>le:</i>	/lè/	bow, four
<i>te:</i>	/tè/	song
<i>pe</i>	/pe/	foot (measure)
<i>khywe:</i>	/chwè/	sweat

There is probably a variety of explanations for these anomalies. *Cetanā* and *wedanā* are loans from Pali, which may not be subject to the same rules of correspondence in this respect as native words. *Kywe:* is spelt *klwaññ* in Pagan inscriptions, and may be regarded as conforming to the rule WB *aññ* = AR /e/. *Le:*, if pronounced AR /li/ in conformity with other *e* rhymes, would be homophonous with the obscene word /li/ 'penis'. It is true that *le:* 'be heavy' is pronounced AR /li/, but this is a verb, which greatly reduces the opportunities for misunderstanding. *Te:* and *pe*, informants thought, may be comparatively recent loans from SB, imported complete with pronunciation. *Khywe:* is unlikely to fall into this category: perhaps the SB pronunciation has been adopted because the now obsolescent pronunciation AR /khwì/ is homophonous with the AR for 'dog'.

(4) Words with the rhymes *i* (or *e*) and *u*, which normally correspond with AR /i/ and /u/, are regularly pronounced /ein/ and /oun/ if they have a nasal initial. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>nī</i>	/nein/	/ni/	be red
<i>ne</i>	/nein/	/ne/	stay
<i>mī:</i>	/mèin/	/mì/	fire
<i>me:</i>	/mèin/	/mè/	ask
<i>ḡri</i>	/ḡréin/	/ḡī/	be caught
<i>ḡe:</i>	/ḡèin/	/ḡè/	gaze vacantly
<i>hñī</i>	/hñèin/	/hñī/	smell raw
<i>nwe:</i>	/nwèin/	/nwè/	be warm
<i>ḡū</i>	/ḡoun/	/ḡu/	promontory
<i>nu</i>	/nóun/	/nú/	be tender
<i>nū</i>	/noun/	/nu/	be leprous

Some speakers were not consistent in applying this extended nasality, and there were certain words for which informants said both nasalised and unnasalised pronunciations were used:

<i>mre</i>	/mrein, mri/	/mye/	earth
<i>'ami</i>	/əméin, əmí/	/əmí/	mother
<i>ḡwe</i>	/ḡwein, ḡwe/ (sic)	/ḡwe/	silver
<i>nū:</i>	/nòun, nù/	/nù/	be soft
<i>mū</i>	/moun, mu/	/mu/	behave
<i>'ahmū:</i>	/əhmòun, əhmù/	/əhmù/	leader

The following words were said to have no extended nasality at all:

<i>'aḡwe.</i>	/aḡwé, aḡwí/	/aḡwé/	vapour
<i>mwe.</i>	/mwé/ (sic)	/mwé/	sleep
<i>ḡrū-cū</i>	/ḡru-zu/	/ñu-zu/	grumble

The following words have nasal rhymes in AR even though they do not have nasal initials:

<i>chī:</i>	/shein/	/shì/	stop
<i>sī</i>	/θein/	/θi/	thread
<i>hyi, hri</i>	/ʃí, hí, héin/	/ʃí/	exist
<i>paḡ.-kū</i>	/pón-khoun/	/pín-gu/	spider

Three further words show irregular features:

<i>hmī</i>	/hme, hmwein, hmi/	/hmi/	catch
<i>nwe</i>	/nein, nwein/	/nwe/	hot season
<i>'ahmu</i>	/əhmóun, əhmú, əhmou'/	/əhmú/	deed

(5) The AR /ɛ/ rhyme occurs in few words, though one of them is of frequent occurrence. The only words I found were:

AR

/pyɛ/	(particle)	(emphasis)
/lɛ/	(interjection)	Here! Come!
/hɛ/	(appended interjection)	Hey!

In written texts attempting to show AR pronunciation /pyɛ/ is written *pyāy* – an SB spelling *pyay* would of course give AR /pyɛ/. I found no written examples of the other two, and informants were doubtful about how they should be written.

/pyɛ/ has no exact counterpart in SB: it is used as a verb-sentence marker like SB /pi/ and as a sentence-final postposition like SB /pè/; and it sometimes suggests an appended appellative like SB /bya/. Examples are given in §2.3.3. Informants said there was a northern variant /pya/.

/lɛ/ seems to be used like SB /la/ or /kè/. For example:

AR	SB	
/lɛ – lai'-la-khá/	/la – lai'-la-gé/	Come along then.
/lɛ – sà-lai'/	/kè – sà-lai'/	Right: eat up.

/He/ seems very like the SB appended interjection of the same form, and my sole example is perhaps a loan (see text at §2.4.2 (44)).

(6) The rhyme *a* following *w* sometimes corresponds to AR /ɔ/, as in WB *wā:* = AR /wɔ̃/ 'bamboo'; and if the *w* is medial it may not occur in the AR pronunciation at all, as in WB *nwā:* = AR /nɔ̃/ 'cow'. Informants were not consistent on this point: in one recording *rwa* is pronounced /rɔ̃/, /rwɔ̃/ and /rwa/ in the space of a few words.

The opposite merger also occurs occasionally. That is:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>bho.</i>	/phwá/	/phɔ́/	cork
<i>-tō</i>	/-twɔ̃/	/-tɔ̃/	(honorific)

In spite of inconsistencies there seems to be no systematic distinction in AR between WB *wa* and *o*, and it is simplest to treat these two rhymes as having merged.

(7) There is a tendency sometimes to pronounce WB *khy* not as /ch/ but as /j/:

<i>khyan</i>	/chɔn, jɔn/	/chin/	want to
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This tendency however is not sufficiently consistent or widespread to warrant merging the two heads in AR.

(8) Two forms show the correspondence AR /r/ = SB /d/ when preceded by close juncture; after a stop the correspondence is regular: AR /t/ = SB /t/:

<i>tay</i>	/te, re/	/tɛ, dɛ/	(verb-sentence marker)
<i>tui.</i>	/tó, rɔ́/	/tó, dɔ́/	(plural)

These two /r/s probably began as fast-tempo variants of /d/, but now they are pronounced /r/ even in slow tempo, and are written with *r* in texts attempting to reproduce AR pronunciation.

(9) The correspondences below are generally well observed:

WB	AR	SB
<i>hy, hly, shy</i>	/j/	/j/
<i>hr</i>	/hr/	/j/

However, there are some discrepancies. These may arise because a WB spelling has become altered at some point in history, or because AR speakers who hear much SB have changed from /hr/ to /j/. The latter is evidently the case for example with WB *hrwe* 'gold' = SB and AR /jwe/. Informants reported that the pronunciation AR /hrwi/, which is what one would expect from the usual correspondences, does exist but is obsolescent. In a list of 35 words with initial SB /j/ the following discrepancies emerged (WB spellings are taken from the spelling book MSTK 1986):

WB	AR	SB	
<i>hrū</i>	/ju/	/ju/	breathe
<i>hrañ.</i>	/jáin/	/jín/	squirrel
<i>hruik</i>	/jai'/	/jai'/	sob
<i>hron</i>	/jaun/	/jaun/	avoid
<i>hraj:</i>	/jɔ̃n/	/jín/	be clear
<i>hrup</i>	/jou'/	/jou'/	be confused
<i>coŋ.hrok</i>	/-jau'/	/-jau'/	look after

The remaining words, in which AR pronunciation agreed with WB spelling, are the following:

<i>hri-khui:</i>	do obeisance	<i>tahri</i>	equal to
<i>rhe.</i>	front	<i>hre:</i>	former time
<i>rhwe.</i>	move	<i>hraññ</i>	be long
<i>thaŋ-hrā:</i>	be conspicuous	<i>hru</i>	look
<i>hrwam.</i>	mud	<i>hrwam:</i>	be wet, juicy
<i>hyac</i>	eight	<i>hyañ</i>	compare
<i>ahyañ:</i>	yoke	<i>hrwaŋ</i>	be joyful
<i>hrum.</i>	wrinkle	<i>hlyo.</i>	slacken
<i>hlyō</i>	wash	<i>hlyo</i>	slide
<i>hlyui</i>	insert	<i>hlyap</i>	flash
<i>shyam:</i>	Shan	<i>hlyok</i>	proceed, address
<i>hyum:</i>	lose	<i>'ashyaŋ</i>	master
<i>'ahraŋ</i>	alive	<i>hlyā</i>	tongue
<i>hrā</i>	seek	<i>hrā:</i>	be scarce

The following SB words were said not to have counterparts in AR:

<i>/ʃwè/</i>	be soaked	<i>/ʃan/</i>	overflow
<i>/ʃá/</i>	nick	<i>/ʃó/</i>	set on fire
<i>/kàin -jàin/</i>	be devoted to		

The following AR words appear not to have counterparts in SB:

<i>/əʃe/</i>	child, little	<i>/ʃon/</i>	thing
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The following two words have forms with AR /h/ for SB /ʃ/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>hyi, hri</i>	<i>/ʃí, hí/</i>	<i>/ʃí/</i>	exist
<i>'ahrin</i>	<i>/əhein/</i>	<i>/əʃein/</i>	force

(10) The following words with medial *r* are sometimes misspelt in WB. The MSTK spelling agrees with AR pronunciation in the following words:

<i>'akyaŋ:khyāŋ:</i>	<i>/əchòŋ-chòŋ/</i>	<i>/əchìn-jìn/</i>	reciprocally
<i>khyoŋ:</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	stream

It disagrees in the following:

<i>sī-khyaŋ:</i>	<i>/θəkhòŋ/</i>	<i>/θəchìn/</i>	song
<i>khyup</i>	<i>/khrou'/</i>	<i>/chou'/</i>	sew
<i>khyoŋ:</i>	<i>/khraun/</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	throat
<i>hŋak-pyo</i>	<i>/ŋəprò/</i>	<i>/ŋəpyò/</i>	banana
<i>praŋ</i>	<i>/pyon/</i>	<i>/pyin/</i>	prepare

The last example, */pyon/*, could be an SB pronunciation that slipped into my recordings.

(11) Medial AR /r/ and /w/ occur together in some words where SB rarely or never has medial /yw/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>mɾwe</i>	/mɾwein/	/mwe (mywe)/	snake
<i>'amɾwak</i>	/ə'mɾwɔ'/	/ə'mwɛ'(əmywɛ')/	utterance
<i>'akɾwe:</i>	/əkɾwì/	/əcwè/	debt
<i>krwak</i>	/krwɔ'/	/cwɛ'/	mouse

(12) A few words have voiceless nasal initials in AR but not in WB or SB:

<i>nā-maññ</i>	/hna-me/	/nan-mɛ/	name
<i>myañ:</i>	/hmɿàin/	/myìn/	line
<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/hmɔn-jò/	/məjì/	amarind

(13) Some words show differences of tone between AR and SB or WB:

<i>ku</i>	/kù/	/kú/	give medical treatment
<i>nwam:</i>	/nwɛn/	/nùn/	wilt
<i>se:</i>	/θí/	/θè/	yet
<i>laññ:</i>	/lé/	/lè/	also
<i>twe</i>	/tú/	/te/	(plural)

SB also has a few words that are often spoken with a voiceless nasal not present in WB. For example:

WB	SB	
<i>-nuig-</i>	/-nain-, -hnain-/	be able to
<i>-mí-</i>	/-mí-, -hmí-/	inadvertently
<i>mrā:</i>	/hmyà/	arrow

The AR aspiration is probably an example of the same phenomenon, and may not be reliable evidence for reconstruction.

2.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing occurs in AR only with plain initials, not with both plain and aspirate as in SB; nor does it occur with /θ/. For example:

AR	SB	
/kàun-gàun/	/kàun-gàun/	well
/shì-phò wɔ-khá/	/shè-bò wà-gá/	cost of medicine
/θɔn-dèn/	/θin-dàn/	class
/hmaun-thè/	/əhmaun-dè/	in the dark
/θu-na-brú/	/θu-na-byú/	nurse
/θɔn-phù-re/	/θin-bù-dɛ/	once studied
/wa-jwɛ'/	/wa-ju'/	end of Lent
/əchɔn-chòn/	/əchìn-jìn/	reciprocally
/swén-zwén sà-zà/	/sún-zún sà-zà/	at personal sacrifice
/ləphɔ'-re-shain/	/ləphe'-ye-zain/	tea-shop
/rò-ga-θe/	/yò-ga-ðɛ/	invalid

This pattern of voicing is matched in SB after weakened syllables, where, like all voicing in AR, plain initials are voiced and aspirate initials exempt. For example:

SB /ti' / + /əkaun/	=	/təgaun/	one animal
SB /ti' / + /əkha/	=	/təkha/	one time

This feature of AR throws light on the etymology of some SB words. In an SB word containing a syllable with a voiced initial it is impossible to tell whether the syllable would be plain, aspirate or voiced in an unvoiced environment. The AR pronunciation, with its non-voicing of aspirates, shows whether it is aspirate or not. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>paŋ.kū</i>	/pón-khoun/	/pín-gu/	spider
<i>koŋ:kaŋ</i>	/kàun-khɔn/	/kàun-gin/	sky
<i>laññ-paŋ:</i>	/lain-phòn/	/lɛ-bìn/	neck
<i>wam:puik</i>	/wèn-phai'/	/wùn-bai'/	stomach
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/tèn-thà/	/tədà/	bridge

The AR voicing pattern also applies to some Pali loanwords in which WB shows a voiced aspirate:

<i>saṅghā</i>	/θɔn-kha/	/θin-ga/	the monkhood
<i>Māgadha</i>	/Ma-gəthá/	/Ma-gədá/	Māgadha
<i>khandhā</i>	/khɛn-tha/	/khan-da/	body
<i>adhika</i>	/əthí-ká/	/ədí-ká/	central
<i>Bodhi</i>	/Bò-thí/	/Bò-dí/	Bodhi (tree)
<i>lobha</i>	/lò-phá/	/lò-bá/	greed
<i>sabho</i>	/θəphò/	/θəbò/	nature
<i>bhaya</i>	/phəyá/	/bəyá/	danger

This pattern does not however apply to all such words. WB voiced aspirate consonants in the following words are pronounced as voiced consonants, as in SB:

<i>Māgha</i>	Sakka	<i>dhamma</i>	law
<i>adhamma</i>	lawless	<i>adhippāy</i>	meaning
<i>adhipati</i>	dictator	<i>saddhā</i>	faith
<i>Buddha</i>	Buddha	<i>dullabha</i>	temporary (monkhood)
<i>bhāwanā</i>	meditation	<i>sambhāra</i>	accumulated merit
<i>sabhāwa</i>	natural	<i>kambhā</i>	world

The following two words also, though spelt with WB voiced aspirates, and pronounced with aspirate initials in IT, are pronounced in AR, as in SB, with voiced initials:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>dhā:</i>	/dà/	/dà/	knife
<i>jhe:</i>	/zì/	/zè/	market

The following voiced AR initials for WB aspirates are perhaps loan pronunciations from SB:

<i>khu</i>	/gú/	/gú/	now
<i>khoŋ:</i>	/gàun/	/gàun/	head
<i>thok</i>	/dau'/	/dau'/	prop
<i>khyoŋ</i>	/jaun/	/jaun/	cranny

<i>khruì</i>	/əgro/	/jo/	horn
<i>thu-thaṇṇ</i>	/dú-de/	/dú-dɛ/	thickness

2.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening in AR occurs in the same way, and with the same voicing pattern, as in SB. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>ṇā:kro</i>	/ṇəgro/	/ṇəjo/	fried fish
<i>ṇā:khrok</i>	/ṇəkhrau'/	/ṇəchau'/	dried fish

AR however makes more extensive use of weakening than SB. For example:

<i>la-kha</i>	/ləkhá/	/lá-gá/	salary
<i>min:ma</i>	/məmá/	/mein-má/	woman
<i>mrwe-hok</i>	/məhau'/	/mwe-hau'/	cobra
<i>chī-mī:</i>	/shəmèin/	/shi-mì/	oil lamp
<i>re-nam</i>	/rənɛn/	/ye-nan/	oil
<i>Ū: Sā Thwan:</i>	/Ū θəThwɛn/	/Ū θa Thùn/	Ū θa Thùn
<i>nerā</i>	/nəra/	/ne-ya/	place
<i>ū:rī:</i>	/wəri/	/ù-yì/	uncle
<i>re-khai</i>	/rəkhè/	/ye-gè/	ice
<i>che:líp</i>	/shəlei'/	/shè-lei'/	cigarette
<i>jhī:sī:</i>	/zəθi/	/zì-ḏì/	wild plum
<i>bū:sī:</i>	/bəθi/	/bù-ḏì/	gourd
<i>lū-pyui</i>	/ləbyo/	/lu-byo/	bachelor
<i>ṇṇī-ma</i>	/ṇəmə/	/ṇi-má/	younger sister
<i>pru-cu-kat-ra-re</i>	/prúzú-ge'-rə-re/	/pyúzú-já-yá-dɛ/	had to tend

The following AR words and expressions have no morpheme-to-morpheme equivalent in SB, but are further illustrations of the prevalence of weakening in AR. The WB forms are not attested in writing: they are reconstructed on the basis of what the AR pronunciation suggests.

WB	weakened AR	unweakened AR	
<i>ye-ke</i>	/yə-ge/	/ye-ge/	that being so
<i>re-sum:</i>	/rə-θəun/	/re-θəun/	bathroom
<i>kay-nuiṇ-phui.-lā:</i>	/ke-hnain-phə-là/	/ke-hnain-phó-là/	whether I could save
<i>pyok-lā.-kha-re</i>	/pyau'-lə-khá-re/	/pyau'-lə-khá-re/	disappeared
<i>charā-bā.-ka</i>	/shəra-bə-gá/	/shəra-bà-gá/	from the teacher

AR also has weakening in the following words, which, though not compounds, have full syllables in SB:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>watthu</i>	/wəthú/	/wu'thú/	novel
<i>uyyāṇ</i>	/wəyain/	/ú-yin/	garden
<i>pinnai-sī:</i>	/pənè-θi/	/pein-nè-ḏi/	jackfruit

Weakening is also used regularly by some speakers with what in SB is the formative [repetition]:

<i>co-co</i>	/səzò/	/sò-zò/	early
<i>koŋ:koŋ:</i>	/kəgàun/	/kàun-gàun/	well
<i>tit-tit</i>	/tədei'/	/tei'tei'/	quietly
<i>pup-pup</i>	/pəbou'/	/pou'pou'/	rotten
<i>pwa-pwa</i>	/pəbwá/	/pwá-bwá/	unkempt
<i>lway-lway</i>	/ləlwɛ/	/lwɛ-lwɛ/	easily
<i>phrū-phrū</i>	/phəphru/	/phyu-byu/	white
<i>myā:myā:</i>	/məmyà/	/myà-myà/	many
<i>mran-mran</i>	/məmrən/	/myan-myan/	quickly
<i>rui-rui se-se</i>	/rəro θəθe/	/yo-yo θe-ðe/	respectfully
<i>cut-cut pai.pai</i>	/səzou' pəbé/	/sou'sou' pɛ-bé/	squalid
<i>ce.ce. cum-cum</i>	/səzi səzoun/	/sí-zí soun-zoun/	fully

In spite of AR's more extensive use of weakening compared with SB, there are some words with weak syllables in SB which are full syllables in AR:

<i>khu-nac-khu</i>	/khənai'-khú/	/khun-nəkhú/	seven items
<i>krāsapate:</i>	/kra-θɔ'-pədi/	/ca-ðəbədè/	Thursday
or	/kra-θɛ'-pədi/		
<i>tam-khā:</i>	/tən-khà/	/təgà/	door
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/tən-thà/	/tədà/	bridge
<i>tan-khui:</i>	/tən-khò/	/təgò/	greatness
<i>tan-khū:</i>	/tən-khù/	/təgù/	Təgù (month)
<i>tan-choŋ-mum:</i>	/tən-shaun-bòun/	/təzaun-mòun/	Təzaung-mòun (month)
<i>tan-cak</i>	/tən-zɔ'/	/təzɛ'/	eaves
<i>tan-toŋ</i>	/tən-daun/	/tədaun/	elbow
<i>tan-tuiŋ:</i>	/tən-dàin/	/tədàin/	wall

2.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in AR as in SB:

AR	/ŋa/	+	/ko/	=	/ŋá-go/	to me
AR	/hnəshe/	+	/hnai'/	=	/hnəshé-hnai'/	twenty-two

There is one interesting difference: AR does not use creaky tone for verb-sentence attributes as SB does:

AR	/dou'khá rau'-nein-re lu-dí/
SB	/dou'khá yau'-ne-dé lu-de/
	trouble reach-be-REL person-PL
	people who are in trouble
AR	/thà-re sei'de'/
SB	/thà-dé sei'da'/
	place-REL attitude
	the attitude (they) adopt

AR	/ko lou'-nein-re əlou'/
SB	/ko lou'-ne-dé əlou'/
	one do-be-REL work
	the work one is doing
AR	/mrwein kai'-te wedəna/
SB	/mwe kai'-té wedəna/
	snake bite-REL injury
	injury from a snakebite

2.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following notes cover some of the particles and common words found in AR but used differently or not at all in SB. The grammatical classifications are the same as those in Okell (1969), and are abbreviated as indicated in the foreword to these three Burmese dialect papers. Many examples are taken from the texts of which transcriptions are given in §2.4 below. The locations of the examples in the texts are shown as indicated in the foreword.

(1) /cì/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /chì/; voiceable. AR has voicing, suggesting a plain initial where SB has an aspirate.

AR	/wedəna-ʃon-go-jì	θɔ'-θɔ'	mə-hou'-θí/ rec
SB	/wedəna-ʃin-go-jì	θɛ'-θɛ'	mə-hou'-θè-bù/
	injury-victim-ACC-only simple-simple not-be.so-yet-VSMK		
	It is not only the patient (who needs encouragement).		

(2) /krà/ aV adv = SB /chà/; voiceable. Note AR plain for SB aspirate initial, as for /cì/ above.

AR	/khrau'-nari-grà	tə-kha/ inf
SB	/chau'-nayi-jà	tə-kha/
	six-hour-between	one-time
	every six hours	

(3) /kha/ common location noun and special head noun = SB /tɔ́, yin/. Note AR plain for SB aspirate initial, as above.

AR	/rɔ-tə-rɔ	chá-re.	Chá-kha	... sekà-ló	la-kha/ 3.6-7
SB	/ywa-tə-ywa	chá-dɛ.	Chá-dó	... sigà-ló	la-dó/
	village-one-village	found-VSMK	found-time	increase-ing	come-time
	(He) founded a village. Afterwards, when it grew bigger				

AR	/əchein cá-kha/ 3.19
SB	/əchein cá-yin/
	time fall-when
	when the time comes round

AR	/lu-lé	mə-fí	sho-kha/ 3.6
SB	/lu-lè	mə-fí-bù	sho-dó/
	person-also	not-live	say-when
	as nobody lived there		

Also used not as special head noun:

AR	/wedəna-ʃən-ró-go	prúzu-re	əkha-ma/ rec
SB	/wedəna-ʃin-dó-go	pyúzu-dé	əkha-hma/
	injury-victim-PL-ACC	tend-REL	time-at
	when (one) is looking after a patient		

(4) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

AR	/lou'ŋèn-go	thà-khá-pri-ge/ 1.16
SB	/lou'ŋàn-go	thà-gé-pi-dó/
	work-ACC	set-there-finish-when
	setting (his) work aside	

AR	/zì-go	là-khá-re/ 2.11
SB	/zè-go	θwà-gé-dε/
	market-ACC	go-there-VSMK
	(Her sister) had gone out shopping.	

AR /khá/ is frequent after auxiliary verb /là/, which weakens to /ləkhá/, q.v. See also auxiliary verb /lé/.

(5) /hnòn/ sentence final postposition = SB /nɔ, pɔ/

AR	/mə-ʃòn-mə-lòn-zɔ	hí-gələ	mèin-gé'-hnòn/ 1.33
SB	/mə-ʃin-mə-lin-da	ʃí-yin-lè	mè-já-nɔ/
	not-clear-not-light-thing	be-also	ask-PL-won't.you
	Now if there's anything that's not quite clear, please ask me about it.		

AR	/cèzù	tóunpreŋ-chon-re-hnònra/ 1.23
SB	/cèzù	tóunbyan-jin-da-bó/
	gratitude	return-want-VSMK-of.course
	It is only natural that (he) should want to make some recompense.	

(6) /phó/ subordinate marker with verb for complement and attribute = SB /phó/

AR	/chìhmwèn-phó	mə-kàun-là/ 1.8
SB	/chìmùn-bó	mə-kàun-là/
	praise-for	not-be.good-Q
	Isn't (that) an admirable thing?	

AR	/pai'-phó	thà-zɔ-ba/ 2.17
SB	/pyi'-phó	thà-da-ba/
	throw.out-for	put-VSMK-POL
	(I) put (it) there to be thrown away.	

This is often used marking attributes where SB would use /mé/:

AR	/θɔn-phó	pou'go/ 1.12
SB	/θin-mé	pou'go/
	learn-for	person
	the prospective student	

AR	/lou'-rá-phó	sɔ-tí/ 1.1
SB	/lou'-yá-mé	ha-de/
	do-must-to	thing-PL
	the things that have to be done	

In addition to these uses, which are close to SB, AR /phó/ is used frequently enough in incomplete sentences to warrant a further classification as a verb-sentence marker = SB /mε, yá-mε, məlól/:

AR /phyɔ-thé-lai'-pain fí-ne-phó/ 2.26
 SB /phyɔ-thé-lai'-θəlo fí-ne-mε/
 warm-put.in-just-as if be-be-for
 It would be as if (they) were all warmed up together.

AR /ke-hnain-phə-là cəno kù-θá-bə-rá-zi/ 1.20
 SB /ke-hnain-mə-là cəno kù-θá-bə-yá-ze/
 save-can-will-Q I treat-treat-POL-may-let
 Please may I treat (him) and try and save his life?

AR /-phəlà/ is weakened from /-phó-là/.

AR /prɔ́-phó-là/ inf
 SB /pyɔ-yá-məlà/
 speak-for-Q
 Should I speak now? (preparing to record)

AR /fí-phó/ inf
 SB /fí-yá-mε/
 be-for
 (He) must be (at home). (answer to 'Will he be there?')

AR /ri chò-phó-là/ inf
 SB /ye chò-məlól-là/
 water wash-for-Q
 Are you going to wash?

AR /phó/ is also used with /pyε/ = SB /tɔ́-mε/: for examples see under /pyε/ below.

(7) /kε'/ auxiliary verb = SB /cá/; voiceable

AR /θəun-yau' nein-ge'-te-le'/ 2.2
 SB /θəun-yau' ne-já-de-dé/
 three-person live-PL-VSMK-it.says
 The three (of them) lived there together, the story goes.

AR /kε'/ has a variant /kre'/ used in written texts but not in my spoken material; it is perhaps a regional variant.

(8) /ke/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, dé/; voiceable

AR /yɔ́n-pain θai'sa sho-prì-ge/ 1.16
 SB /èdi-lo θi'sa sho-pì-yin/
 that-way promise say-finish-when
 after taking this oath

AR /pə-zaun sei'dε'-myò thà-brì lou'-rá-re-lè sho-ge/ 1.2
 SB /be-lo sei'da'-myò thà-bì lou'-yá-ðə-lè sho-yin/
 what-like attitude-kind put-finish act-must-VSMK-Q say-if
 the kind of attitude one ought to adopt is ...

- AR /dù thau'-pà-ge/ 1.4
 SB /dù thau'-pà-dó/
 knee support-finish-ing
 kneeling down

Weakened before AR /lé/ = SB /lè/

- AR /Kro'-Khri-ni lou'gèn əne-nén sho-ló jí-gə-lé/ 1.28
 SB /Cə'-Che-ni lou'gàn əne-né sho-ló jí-yin-lè/
 fowl-foot-red work status-with say-ing be-if-and
 turning now to our work in the Red Cross

Like SB /dó/, AR /ke/ is also suffixed to a limited number of nouns, sometimes with weakening of the noun.

- AR /ye-ge/ 2.4
 or /yəge/ rec
 SB /ēdi-dó/
 that-since
 that being so

(9) /ké/ verb-sentence marker = SB /né/; voiceable

- AR /mə-phyo'-ké/ 3.21
 SB /mə-phye'-né/
 not-destroy-VSMK
 Don't destroy (it).

(10) /ləkhá/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà, lai'/. (cf. SB /la-gé/)

- AR /nu:n-ləkhá-re/ 1.7
 SB /nu-θwà-də/
 be.leprous-go-VSMK
 (They) become lepers.
- AR /pyau'-ləkhá-re-byə/ 2.49
 SB /pyau'-θwà-da-bè/
 disappear-go-VSMK-VSMK
 (The symptoms) disappeared.
- AR /krà-ləkhá-sə-nén/ rec
 SB /cà-lai'-ta-né/
 hear-go-thing-with
 on hearing

(11) /lɛ'/ auxiliary verb = SB /la, khé, θwà/

- AR /tə'-lɛ'-te-byə/
 SB /tɛ'-la-da-bè/
 ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK
 (She) came up (into the house).

AR /ñáza la-le'/ inf
 SB /ñáne la-gé/
 evening come-here
 Come this evening.

AR /ñòpa-le'-te/ 2.34
 SB /myò-òwà-dé/
 float-go-VSMK
 (She) felt faint.

The SB counterpart would be /la'/ (WB *lat*) which is now used in SB only in formal styles, and is generally described as 'euphonic'.

(12) /le'/ unclassified particle = SB /té/

AR /nó tə-khwɔ'-si θau'-te-le'/ 2.4
 SB /nó tə-khwɛ'-si θau'-tə-dé/
 milk one-cup-each drink-VSMK-they.say
 (They) used to drink a glass of milk each, so the story goes.

(13) /lé/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /lè, hmá/

AR /ein-brɛ'lòun-lé cì-ló-pà-ló phrai'-ne-bye/ 2.39
 SB /təein-lòun-lè ʃou'-ló-thwè-lò phyi'-ne-da-bè/
 house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing-be.dirty-ing be-be-VSMK
 And the whole house was in a mess.

AR /tə-yau'-lé mə-ʃí/ inf
 SB /tə-yau'-hmá mə-ʃí-bù/
 one-person-also not-be
 Not a single person was there.

AR /za-lé mə-ʃí/-inf
 SB /ba-hmá mə-ʃí-bù/
 what-even not-have
 (I) haven't got anything.

(14) /lè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lè/

AR /za phrai'-ló-lè/ 2.16
 SB /ba phyi'-ló-lè/
 what happen-because-Q
 Why?

(15) /ló/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /ló, pì/. In addition to occurring in most of the places where SB /ló/ is used (= 'because, -ing'), AR /ló/ is used before more auxiliary verbs than in SB, and after pre-verbs (= SB /pì, pì-dó/,) and frequently before /ʃí/ (cf. SB /sho-ló ʃí-yin, pha'-ló ne-ba-dé/).

AR /sekà-ló la-kha/ 3.7
 SB /sigà-ló la-dó/
 be.populous-ing come-time
 when (it) became populous

- AR /prúpɹɔn-ló thà-re/ 3.23
 SB /pyúpyin-thà-dɛ/
 repair-ing put-VSMK
 (They) repaired (it).
- AR /we-ló chɔ'-pə-khá-sɔ/ 2.49
 SB /wɛ-bì che'-pyi'-khé-da/
 buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing
 (I) bought (some) and warmed (it).
- AR /la-ló khɔ-ge/ 1.15
 SB /la-bì khɔ-yin/
 come-ing fetch-if
 if (they) come and fetch (him)
- AR /əθɔ' prɛn-ló hrɔn-la-re/ 1.22
 SB /əθɛ' pyan-bì jin-la-dɛ/
 life return-ing live-come-VSMK
 (He) is saved from death.
- AR /po-ló hnáunhnè-zì-re/ rec
 SB /po-bì hnáunhnè-ze-dɛ/
 exceed-ing delay-cause-VSMK
 (It) holds up (the dispersion) even more.
- AR /cá-ló θi-re/ 2.21 (adapted)
 SB /cá-bì θe-dɛ/
 fall-ing die-VSMK
 (It) fell in and died.
- AR /wɔn-rau'-ló θɔn-re-kha/ rec
 SB /win-yau'-ló θin-dé-əkha/
 enter-arrive-ing study-REL-time
 when (he) comes in and studies
- AR /zì là-ló jí-re/ 2.38
 SB /zè θwà-ló ne-dɛ/
 market go-ing be-VSMK
 (She) had gone out shopping.
- AR /phyɔ-ló jí-re/ 2.25
 SB /phyɔ-ne-dɛ/
 infuse-ing be-VSMK
 (It) is warmed up.
- AR /gú-thɔ'-thí ... kòkwe-ló jí-re/ 3.11
 SB /gú-dɛ'-thí ... kòkwe-ló ne-dɛ/
 now-period-up.to worship-ing be-VSMK
 And even now (they) still worship (his image).

(16) /me/ verb-sentence marker = SB /mɛ/

- AR /prò-prá-me/ 1.1
 SB /pyò-pyá-mɛ/
 say-show-will
 (I) will tell (you).

(17) /né/ or /ná/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and attribute, co-ordinate marker = SB /né/

- AR /ŋə-ró əne-né/ 1.3
 SB /ŋə-dó əne-é/
 1PL status-with
 as regards ourselves
- AR /sáunʃau'-yònpòn-né/ 1.5
 SB /sáunʃau'-yìn-né/
 look.after-while-with
 while looking after (them)
- AR /e ətə'pyinñā-né θu-ró-re sɪpwà mə-hra-ba/
 SB /di ətə'pyinñā-né θu-dó-ha sɪpwà mə-ʃa-ba-bù/
 this skill-with they-PL-SUBJ profit not-look-POL
 (They) do not use (their) skill for profit.
- AR /tagò-θe'tí-ná prézoun-khá-re/ 3.11
 SB /tagò-θa'tí-né pyézoun-gé-dɛ/
 power-majesty-with be full-there-VSMK
 (He) had great powers.
- AR /e θeindɔ-ná zedidɔ/ 3.21
 SB /di θeindɔ-né zedidɔ/
 this ordination.hall-and pagoda
 this ordination hall and pagoda

The difference between the two forms is regional: both forms are to be heard in the central area, but informants said /ná/ is used in the north and /né/ in the south. Neither form is used with the function of SB /-né/ verb-sentence marker: see AR /ke/.

(18) /pa-yón/ verb-sentence marker = SB /dɛ, yé/

- AR /hlu-ba-yón/ 1.5
 SB /hlu-ba-dɛ/
 dedicate-POL-VSMK
 (I) dedicate (myself).
- AR /hou'-pa-yón/ inf
 SB /hou'-ké/
 be.so-POL-VSMK
 Yes.

(19) /pà/ common location noun = SB /shi/; voiceable

AR /shəra-bə-gá/ (weakened from /-bà-gá/)

SB /shəyá-shi-gá/ 1.19

teacher-place-from

from the teacher

AR /phərə-bà-ma/ 1.4

SB /phəyà-shi-hma/

God-place-at

before God

(20) /pain/ special head noun and subordinate noun for complement and attribute = SB /lo/; not voiced

AR /phyə-thé-lai'-pain fí-ne-phó/ 2.26

SB /phyə-thé-lai'-θəlo fí-ne-mə/

warm-put.in-just-like be-be-for

It's as if it had all been warmed up together.

AR /za ərò-gá za-pain khə-re sho-pain / rec

SB /ba əyò-gá bə-lo khə-də sho-θəlo/

what bone-SUBJ what-like call-VSMK say-like

like saying what bone is called what

AR /ɔŋgəlei' əhmə'əθà-dí-ná θən-pì-rá-re/ rec

SB /ɪŋgəlei' əhma'əθà-de-né θin-pè-yá-də/

English term-PL-with teach-give-must-VSMK

(They) had to teach using the English terms.

AR /mrwein-shei' tɔ'-te lu-pain/ rec

SB /mwe-zei' tɛ'-tɛ lu-lo/

snake-poison invade-REL person-like

like a man with a snake's venom spreading through his system

AR /yɔŋ-pain sei'də'-myò/ 1.10

SB /ɛdi-lo sei'da'-myò/

that-like attitude-kind

that kind of attitude

Also used not as a special head noun

AR /prɔ̃-re-pain/ inf

SB /pyɔ̃-θə-lo/

say-VSMK-like

as (he) said

(21) /pən/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /pè/; voiceable (cf. SB /pin/ used in formal styles)

AR /θu-ró khenthako-hma-bən yɔ̃n rəga swèkə'-prì-ge/ 1.7

SB /θu-dó khandako-hma-bè ɛdi yɔ̃ga swèka'-pì-dó/

they-PL body-in-EMP that disease infect-finish-ing

the disease spreading to their own bodies

AR	/əshei' fí-re	mrwein-bon	phrai'-òun-θí/	rec
SB	/əshei' fí-dé	mwe-bè	phyi'-òun-dó/	
	poison have-REL	snake-actual	be-further-when	
	even if it was a venomous snake			

(22) /pye/ sentence-final postposition and verb-sentence marker = SB /pè, pi/; after /phó/ = SB /tó-mé/; with negated verb = SB /məV-tó-bù/; voiceable

AR	/ŋa-dó dou'khá-byε/ 2.22
SB	/ŋa-dó dou'khá-bè/
	I-as for trouble-EMP
	I am in trouble.

AR	/mrwein-byε-là/ rec
SB	/mwe-bè-là/
	snake-EMP-Q
	Was it a snake?

AR	/sei'-kraun-byε/ 2.51
SB	/sei'-cáun-bè/
	mind-because.of-EMP
	(It was) psychological.

AR	/θau'-pəlai'-te-byε/ 2.10
SB	/θau'-pəlai'-ta-bè/
	drink-through-VSMK-EMP
	(They) used to drink (it) down.

AR	/θau'-pə-lai'-pyε/ 2.16
SB	/θau'-pə-lai'-pi/
	drink-throw-just-VSMK
	(I)'ve drunk it.

AR	/əθɔ' hnə-hnai' fí-byε/ inf
SB	/əθɛ' hnə-hni' fí-bi/
	age two-year be-VSMK
	(He) is two years old.

AR	/ŋá-go mrwein kai'-pyε/ rec
SB	/ŋá-go mwei kai'-pi/
	I-ACC snake bite-VSMK
	I've been bitten by a snake.

AR	/prì-ba-byε/ inf
SB	/pl-ba-bi/
	finish-POL-VSMK
	(It)'s all over.

AR	/θi-phó-byε-ló	phrai'-ne-re lu/ 1.22
SB	/θe-dó-mə-ló	phyi'-ne-dé lu/
	die-for-VSMK-QUO	be-be-REL person
	a man on the point of dying	

- AR /prɛn-phó-byɛ/ inf
 SB /pyan-dó-mɛ/
 return-for-VSMK
 (I)'m going home.
- AR /mɛ'tɛ' mə-ne-hnain-byɛ/ 2.35
 SB /ma'ta' mə-ne-hnain-dó-bù/
 upright not-stay-can-VSMK
 (She) couldn't stand up any longer.
- AR /əgú-kha-dó yòn-pain mə-hou'-pyɛ/ rec
 SB /əgú-əkha-hma-dó è-di-lo mə-hou'-tɔ-bù/
 now-time-however that-like not-be.so-VSMK
 But it's not like that any longer.

(23) /ra/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /θa/

- AR /mə-rá-roun-ra mə-ká-θí/ 1.26
 SB /mə-yá-youn-θa mə-ká-θè/
 not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet
 not only does (he) get no (fee)
- AR /le-ra ɛn-re-byɛ/ 2.33
 SB /le-θa an-da-bè/
 air-only vomit-VSMK-VSMK
 (She) was just retching.
- AR /ye-hmá-ra shì kùθá-hnain-re/ rec
 SB /da-hmá-θa shè kùθá-hnain-dɛ/
 that-only-only medicine treat-can-VSMK
 Only in that way can (one) give medical treatment.

(24) /re/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /ha, le, pè/

- AR /pyinñā-ʃɔn tə-yau'-re/ 1.16
 SB /pyinñā-ʃin tə-yau'-ha/
 learning-master one-person-EMP
 a skilled person
- AR /cwəndɔ-re/ 1.18
 SB /cundɔ-ha/
 I-EMP
 I
- AR /e ʃɔn-re/ 1.9
 SB /di ou'-sa-ha/
 that thing-EMP
 this thing
- AR /θú-go-re/ 1.24
 SB /θú-go-bè/
 he-ACC-EMP
 to him

(25) /rɔ́/ auxiliary noun = SB /dó/

AR /ŋə-rɔ́/ 1.3

SB /ŋə-dó/

I-PL

we

AR /θu-rɔ́/ 1.6

SB /θu-dó/

he-PL

they

AR /θeindo-rɔ́/ 3.16

SB /θeindo-dó/

ordination.hall-PL

the ordination hall and so on

(26) /sɔ́/ special head noun = SB /ta/; voiceable, but not always voiced

AR /phrai'-sɔ́-tí fí-re/ 2.1

SB /phyi'-ta-de fí-dɛ/

happen-thing-PL be-VSMK

There are cases (of psychosomatic illness).

AR /pai'-phó thà-zɔ́-ba/ 2.17

SB /pyi'-phó thà-da-ba/

throw-for put-thing-POL

(I) put (it) there to be thrown away.

AR /yòn-nén sei'-ko ədíká thà-ló prò-sɔ́/ 2.52

SB /ɛ-da-nɛ sei'-ko ədíká thà-ló pyò-da/

that-with mind-ACC main put-QUO say-thing

That's why we are told to give first place to the patient's state of mind.

Also found = SB /ha/

AR /de fɔ́n θú-sɔ́/ inf

SB /ho ou'-sa θú-ha/

that thing his-thing

That's his.

AR /kó-sɔ́ ko rì/ inf

SB /kó-ha ko yè/

one's-thing one write

One writes one's own (language).

AR /sɔ́/ is spelt *cwā* in texts attempting to reproduce AR pronunciation, but it is difficult to see a connection between this and the auxiliary verb and subordinate marker *cwā* of formal SB.

(27) /te/ in voiceable positions /re/ verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ, tɛ́/

- AR /kho'-la-de'-te/ rec
 SB /khe'-la-da'-te/
 be.difficult-come-tend-VSMK
 (It) tends to become difficult.
- AR /θòun-myò fí-re/ rec
 SB /θòun-myò fí-de/
 three-kind be-VSMK
 There are three kinds.
- AR /mrwein kai'-te wedəna/ 1.23
 SB /mwe kai'-té wedəna/
 snake bite-REL suffering
 the suffering caused by snakebite
- AR /tə'-thà-re pyinñā/ 1.30
 SB /ta'-thà-dé pyinñā/
 study-put-REL skill
 the skill (one) has learnt

(28) /tè/ auxiliary noun = B /thè/; voiceable. Note that AR has a plain initial for SB's aspirate, WB *taññ*:

- AR /tə-brainno'-tè/ rec
 SB /tə-byainne'-thè/
 one-compete-only
 at the same time
- AR /Mrənma-za tə-khú-dè/ rec
 SB /Myanma-za tə-khú-dè/
 Burmese-literature one-item-only
 Burmese alone

(29) /θí/ auxiliary verb = SB /θè/

- AR /rwen-gráunthəmèn phrai'-roun-ra mə-ká-θí/ 2.40
 SB /yun-zəyaji phyi'-youn-ṭa mə-ká-ṭè/
 disgusting-ness be-merely-only not-be.so.little-yet
 not only was the place in a mess

(30) /tí/ auxiliary noun = SB /te/; voiceable, but not always voiced

- AR /əsa-dí pa-re/ 2.31
 SB /əsa-de pa-de/
 food-PL be.included-VSMK
 There were some solids.
- AR /lou'-nein-re əlou'-tí/ 1.26
 SB /lou'-ne-dé əlou'-te/
 do-be-REL work-PL
 the work (he) is doing

(31) /yòn-pòn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yìn/

AR	/prúzú-yònpòn prúzú-yònpòn-nén ... nu:n-lə-khá-re/ 1.7
SB	/pyúzú-yìn pyúzú-yìn-nə ... nu-ðwà-də/ tend-ing tend-ing-with be.leprous-come-there-VSMK (They) went on and on looking after (them) and became lepers themselves.

AR /yòn/ also occurs without /pòn/

AR	/twè-yòn, ... rwèn-yòn, ən-yòn/ 2.29
SB	/twè-yìn, ... yun-yìn, an-yìn/ think-ing be.disgusted-ing vomit-ing dwelling on it, feeling disgusted by it, and vomiting

(32) [zero] (absence of suffix after negated verb) verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/. Literary style Burmese here matches AR.

AR	/yòn nəra-ma mə-fí/ 2.12
SB	/èdi ne-ya-hma mə-fí-bù/ that place-in not-be (She) was not there.
AR	/sìpwà mə-hra-ba/ 1.13
SB	/sìpwà mə-fa-ba-bù/ profit not-look-POL (They) do not seek to profit.
AR	/yòn-pain sei'də'-myò mə-thà-hnain-là/ 1.11
SB	/èdi-lo sei'da'-myò mə-thà-hnain-bù-là/ that-like attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q Can (they) not adopt that kind of attitude?

2.3.4 VOCABULARY

2.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

2.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

AR	SB	
/yàin/	/pəkhə'/	cradle
/pèn-tu/	/shè-dan/	(tobacco) pipe
/tə-yò/	/loun-ji/	longyi
/tèn-dau'/	/ye-ðəyau'/	gutter
/phaun-θa/	/ein-ðə/	lavatory
/chei'/	/myò/	town

2.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

/pədəga-θi/	/θìn-bò-θi/	paw-paw
/nən-tə-ra-θi/	/na-na'-θi/	pineapple

2.3.4.1.3 PERSONAL STATUS

/əbú-fe/	/kələ-gələ/	infant
/bú-bú-grì/	/kələ-gələ/	infant
/əsei'-kəfe/	/kaun-gələ/	child
/kəli-fe/	/kaun-gələ/	child
/kəli-me/	/əpyo/	unmarried girl
/kəli/	/lu-byo/	bachelor
/əmɔn/	/əme/	mother

2.3.4.1.4 FORMS THAT ARE EVIDENTLY LOANS

Source languages are indicated thus:

B = Bengali, E = English, H = Hindi, P = Portuguese

AR	SB		source
/kɛ'-tɔn/	/ya-zəwu'-ou'/	police superintendent	E <i>captain</i>
/lau'-khou'-θi/	/θɔkhəlau'/	padlock	E <i>lock</i>
/θei'-hlain/	/shè-youn/	hospital	E <i>sick-lines</i>
& /shei'-hlain/			
/gau'-ri/	/kələ-má/	young girl	H <i>gauri</i>
/dɔ'/	/sa-dai'/	post office	H <i>ḍak</i>
/ga-ri/	/hlɛ/	cart	H <i>gāṛī</i>
/ga-ra/	/yè-tha-ná/	police station	H <i>gārad</i> (E <i>guard</i>)
/əphei'/	/yoùn/	office	B <i>aphis</i> , <i>āpis</i> (E <i>office</i>)
/tɔ-li-ya/	/mye'-hnəθou'	towel	H <i>tauliyā</i>
	pəwa/		(P <i>toalha</i>)
/θəboun/	/sha'-pya/	soap	H <i>sāpun</i> (P <i>sabão</i>)
/phələun/	/mye'-hnəphyu/	European	cf. <i>feringi</i> , <i>farang</i> , <i>frank</i> , etc.

(AR /phələun/ has also been equated with the word for 'tadpole'.)

/-θɛ'/	-	Sahib
e.g. /Ka-θɛ'/	-	Sir (Hiram) Cox
/Pya-θɛ'/	-	Sir (Arthur) Phayre
/Ra-bəθein-θɛ'/	-	Sir Robertson [sic]

2.3.4.1.5 MISCELLANEOUS

AR	SB	
/əfe/	/kələ/	small
/əŋe-fe/	/əŋe-lè/	little
/səke-fe/	/nè-nè/	a little
/mo/	-	time (counted in months)
e.g. /mo kò-lá/		nine months
/kɛ'-tə-rein/	-	south wind
/-məθe/	/sá-ḍəphyín/	et cetera
e.g. /myɔ'-hna-məθe/		face and so on

/ʃɔ̃n/	/ou'-sa/	thingummy, thing
/twɛ̃n-shì/	/sədwè/	saliva
/kə̀ràun/	/θò-mwè/	wool

2.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

AR	SB		AR form requires *SB
/hmɔ̃n-jò/	/mə̀jì/	tamarind	/hmin-jò/
/phei'-ja/	/pai'-shan/	money	/phei'-ja/
& /phei-θa/			cf. Hindi <i>paisā</i>
/khə̀nɔ̃n/	/khəd̀wìn/	mouth	/khanìn/

2.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

2.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

AR	SB	compare SB
/tén/	/ya'/ 'stop, stand'	/tán/ (rare alone) 'slow down, stop'
/a-gen-dú/	/é-ðe/ 'visitor'	/a-gan-dú/ 'visiting monk'
/prà/	/ca'/ 'kyat, pyà'	/pyà/ 'pyà'
/yɔ̃n/	/myan/ 'be quick'	/lyin, yin/ 'be nimble, speedy'
/so/	/su'/ 'be damp'	/so/ 'be wet'
/swɛ'/	/so/ 'be wet'	/su'/ 'be damp'
/khə̀dàun/	/loun-ji/ 'lon-gyi'	/khə̀dàun cai/ 'tuck up lon-gyi'
/ə̀hñéin/	/jì/ 'dirt'	/ə̀hñí/ 'verdigris, mould'
/là/	/θwà/ 'go'	/là/ 'proceed'
		(in legal phrases, and the compound /ə̀là-ə̀la/)
/hrwèn/	/wɛ/ 'get wet'	/jùn/ 'be juicy'
/hwèn/	/jan/ 'overflow'	/hun/ 'ascend'
/phə̀rà/	/(khin)-bya/ 'yes?' (answering call)	/phə̀yà/ 'yes?' (to monks only)
/(thì) tə-shaun/	/(thì) tale/ 'one (umbrella)'	/(ein) tə-shaun/ 'one (house)'
/hmyàin/	/hnè/ 'be slow'	/hmyìn/ 'be feeble' (in breathing)
/ken/	/shán/ 'fit in'	/mənain məkan/ 'familiarily'
/khrwèn/	/jei'/ 'hook'	/chùn/ 'elephant goad'
/chau'/	/jáin/ 'pot-hole'	/jau'/ 'chasm'
/doun/	/jáin/ 'can' (e.g. for milk)	/in-doun/ 'cooking pan'
/ci-byɛ/	/pì-da-bɛ/	/ce-bi/ '(it) is cancelled out'
	'there's an end of it'	
/khə̀yau'/	/loun-ji/ 'lon-gyi'	/khà/ 'waist'; /yau/ 'wrap round'
/ñá-za/	/mənɛ́-gá/ 'yesterday'	/ñá-za/ 'evening meal'
/wa-jì/	/ə̀phò-jì/ 'old man'	/θɛ'-cì wa-jì/ 'elderly people'
/pə̀shò/	/saun/ 'blanket'	/pə̀shò/ '(long) long-gyi'
/soun-li/	– 'north wind'	/soun/ 'go downwind'; /le/ 'wind'
/rɛ̀n-bau'/	– 'west wind'	/yàn/ 'be wild'; /pau/ 'arise'
/shòn-khàun/	– 'south-west wind'	?/shin/ 'elephant'; /gàun/ 'head'

/cou'/	/jún/ 'mud'	/-cou'/ 'be dark, dirty'
/əcwɛn/	/cun-dɔ/ 'I'	/cun/ 'slave'
/əV-θɛn/	/əV-cì/ 'very (adj.)'	/θan/ 'be strong'
e.g.		
/əkrì-θɛn/	/əcì-jì/ 'very big'	
/əmrɛn-θɛn/	/əmyan-jì/ 'very fast'	
/ənè-θɛn/	– 'very few'	
/lɛrá-dɛ'/	/θəthè/ 'rich man'	/lu-yá-da'/ 'rich man: obsolete'

2.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

AR	SB	compare SB
/ù krɛn/	/gàun kai'/ 'head aches'	/càn/ 'be rough'
/rəθòun/	/ye-chò-gàn/ 'bathroom'	/ye/ 'water'; /θòun/ 'use'
/ñá-za/	/ñá-ne/ 'afternoon'	/əsa/ 'portion'
/sɔ'-θì/	/sɛ'bein/ 'bicycle'	/sɛ'/ 'wheel'; /əθì/ 'fruit, lock'
/kələ ɲəprɔ̃/	/yəkhaɪn ɲəpyɔ̃/ '(kind of) banana'	/kələ/ 'Indian'
/ein-brɛ'-lòun/	/təein-lòun/ 'all over the house'	/ʔpya/ 'be low, squat'
/ein hlè/	/təbye'-sì hlɛ̃/ 'sweep'	/ein/ 'house'; /hlɛ̃/ 'sweep'

2.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

2.3.4.4.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

(1) AR /e/ = SB /di, è-di, ho/ (cf. formal WB *ī*). For example:

AR	SB	
/e-pain/ 1.18	/di-lo/	this way
/e-lau'/ 3.11	/di-lau'/	this much
/e-ge/ 3.13	/di-dó/	this being so
/e θein-dɔ/ 3.21	/di θein-dɔ/	this ordination hall
/e ətɛ'-pyin-ñá/ 1.13	/di əta'-pyin-ñá/	this skill
/e-ma/ 3.6	/è-di-hma/	here
/e ʃɔn/ 1.9	/ho ou'-sa/	this thing

(2) AR /ye, yə/ = SB /di, è-di, da, ho/. For example:

/yəpain/ 1.21	/è-di-lo/	this way
/ye-ge/ 2.4	/è-di-dó/	this being so
/ye kha/ 1.25	/è-di əkha/	this time
/ye ʃɔn/ 3.7	/ho ou'-sa/	this thing
/ye khərí-yɛn θa-θəna-brú/ 1.10	/di khəri'-yan θa-ðəna-byú/	this Christian missionary
/ye-hmá-ra/ rec	/da-hmá-ðá/	only here
/ye-prì-ge/ 2.2	/da-pì-yin/	after this

(3) AR /de/ = SB /di/ (cf. formal WB *saññ*). For example:

/de dou'-khí-tá-dí/ 1.5	/di dou'-khí-tá-de/	these unfortunate people
/de ... pyin-ñá/ rec	/di ... pyin-ñá/	this knowledge

/de sei'-de'-cáun/ 2.1	/di sei'-da'-cáun/	because of this
/de nəra/ 2.39	/di ne-ya/	psychological cause this place to live
(4) AR /tho/ = SB /ho/ cf formal WB <i>thui</i>		
/tho nəra/ 2.39	/ho ne-ya/	that place to live
(5) AR /yòn/ = SB /è-di/ (cf. formal WB <i>yaŋ</i>). For example:		
/yòn rò-ga/ 1.7	/è-di yò-ga/	this disease
/yòn fón/ 2.27	/è-di ou'-sa/	this thing
/yòn θu/ 1.20	/è-di lu/	this person
/yòn pain/ 1.16	/è-di-lo/	this way
/yòn-lau'/ 1.8	/è-di-lau'/	this much

2.3.4.4.2 INTERROGATIVES

(1) AR /za/ = SB /ba, bæ/. For example:

AR	SB	
/za ə̀rò-gá za-pain kho-re/ rec	/ba ə̀yò-gá bæ-lo kho-də/	What the bones are called
/za nó-lè/ 2.45	/ba nó-lè/	What milk?
/za phrai'-lò-lè/ 2.16	/ba phyi'-lò-lè/	Why?
/za-kha-myò mə̀sho/ 1.15	/bə ə̀kha-myò mə̀sho/	at whatever time
/sì-pwà-rì-ma phrai'-si za phrai'-si/ 1.29	/sì-pwà-yè-hma phyi'-se ba phyi'-se/	whatever advantage may arise
/za là-lè/ inf	/bə θwà-mələ̀/	Where are you going?

(2) AR /pə/ (with /zaun, lau'/ only) = SB /bə/

/pəzaun sei'-de'-myò/ 1.2	/bə-lo sei'-da'-myò/	what kind of attitude
/pəzaun twí-khá-phù-lè/ 1.3	/bə-lo twé-gé-bù-lè/	what (I)'ve seen
/pəlau'-thí tə̀gò jí-re/ 3.8	/bə-lau'-ə̀thí tə̀gò jí-də/	how sacred it is

(3) AR /ə/ (with /θu/ only) = SB /bə/; cf. old formal WB *asū*, *asui*.

/əθu-lè/ inf	/bə-θu-lə/	Who?
/əθu mə̀sho/ rec	/bə-θu mə̀sho/	whoever

2.4 TEXTS

The following three texts are from the recordings mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The first two are by Û θa Hnìn, talking about the work of the Red Cross, and the third is by Dò Má θa Sein, who was telling her children about Cox of Cox's Bazaar.

The transcription is phonemic except in three respects: the following features, in which neither speaker is entirely consistent, are given alternative transcriptions to allow a narrower approximation to the actual pronunciation.

1. AR /ɔ/ is written /ɔ, wɔ, wa/ (see §2.3.1(6)).
2. AR /ein, oun/ are written /ein, i:n/ and /oun, u:n/ (see §2.2.2).

3. Syllables with extended nasality are written /i, i:n, ein/ and /u, u:n, oun/ (see §2.3.1(4)).

There are some Burmanisms, particularly in the first two texts; for example, /cáun/ for AR /kráun/, /jè/ for AR /hri/, /wè/ for AR /wì/, /le/ for AR /li/. These are transcribed as heard. The modern AR counterpart of SB /pyin-ñā/, which contains a loan rhyme from SB (§2.3.1(1)), is transcribed AR /pyin-ñā/.

The transcription of the AR original is accompanied by its SB equivalent. In places the SB version sounds unnatural. This is because I have chosen SB words and expressions that correspond more closely with the AR than a natural rendering would have done.

2.4.1 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.1 – THE LEPER COLONY AND THE SNAKEBITE DOCTORS: THE VOCATIONAL ASPECT OF RED CROSS WORK

1. Kṛṇ'-Khri-Ni lou'ṇèn-ma sedəna-thà-pṛi-ge
Cē'-Che-Ni lou'ṇàn-hma sedəna-thà-pì-dó
fowl-foot-red work-in good.will-place-finish-ing

lou'-rá-phó-sò-tí-go prò-prá-me.
lou'-yá-mé-ha-de-go pyò-pyá-me.
do-must-for-thing-PL-DO say-show-will
2. Kṛṇ'-Khri-Ni lou'ṇèn-ma əmyà-àphrón-re pə-zaun-sei'de'-myò
Cē'-Che-Ni lou'ṇàn-hma əmyà-àphyín bə-lo-sei'da'-myò
fowl-foot-red work-in most-as.regards-EMP what-like-attitude-kind

thà-brì lou'-rá-re-lè sho-ge, θaθəna-brú sei'de'-ló khə-re.
thà-bì lou'-yá-ðələ sho-yin, θaðəna-byú sei'da'-ló khə-de.
place-ing do-must-VSMK-Q say-if religion-make attitude-QUO call-VSMK
3. θaθəna-brú sei'de'-sho-zə-gá ṇəró-əne-nén lə'-twí-gá
θaðəna-byú sei'da'-sho-da-gá ṇəðó-əne-né lə'-twé-gá
religion-make attitude-say-thing-SUBJ we-status-with hand-find-SUBJ

pə-zaun twí-khá-phù-lè-ló sho-ge, Hənθawədi-ma ənu-roun
bə-lo twé-gé-bù-lè-ló sho-yin, Hanθawədi-hma ənu-youn
which-like find-there-ever-Q-QUO say-if Hanthawaddy-in leper-hospital

fí-re – yau'cà-ənu-roun məmá-ənu-roun-ló.
fí-de – yau'cà-ənu-youn meimá-ənu-youn-ló.
be-VSMK man-leper-hospital woman-leper-hospital-QUO
4. Yón-ənu-roun-ma θaθəna-brú-phə'-ká əmyòθəmi'-fə-dí
ēdi-ənu-youn-hma θaðəna-byú-bə'-ká əmyòðəmi'-lè-de
that-leper-hospital-in religion-make-side-from lady-young-PL

phərà-bà-ma dù-thau'-pṛi-ge –
phəyà-shi-hma dù-thau'-pì-dó –
God-presence-in knee-support-finish-ing
5. “əcwən tə-θə'-ta-loùn de-dou'khítá-dí-go
“Cəmə tə-θə'-ta-loùn di-dou'khítá-de-go
I one-life-period-all this-sufferer-PL-ACC

prúsú-saúnfau'-yònpòn-nén ʈi-aun-əthí əhmú-thèn-bəli-phó-byə.
 pyúzú-saúnfau'-yìn-né ʈe-aun-əthí əhmú-thàn-ba-dó-me.
 tend-care-while-with die-up.to-up.to service-bear-POL-for-VSMK

əcwén-khenthako-go phərə-ma hlu-ba-yón," sho-re.
 Cəmə-khandako-go phəyà-hma hlu-ba-də," sho-də.
 my-body-ACC God-to dedicate-POL-VSMK say-VSMK

6. Sho-pri-ge, ʈu-ró phərə-bà-ma ədei'then-prú-pri-ge,
 Sho-pi-dó, ʈu-dó phəya-shi-hma ədei'than-pyú-pi-dó,
 say-finish-when s/he-PL God-presence-in resolve-make-finish-when

yòn-ənu:n-dí-go prúzú-re.
 ɛdi-ənu-də-go pyúzú-də.
 that-leper-PL-ACC tend-VSMK

7. Prúzú-yònpòn prúzú-yònpòn-nén (yòn-kha-dó kra-byə-le,
 Pyúzú-yìn pyúzú-yìn-né (ɛdi-əkha-dó ca-bi-le,
 tend-ing tend-ing-with that-time-as.for be.long-VSMK-you see

yòn-khai') ʈuró-khenthako-hma-bòn yòn-ròga swèkə'-pri-ge,
 ɛdi-dòun) ʈudó-khandako-hma-bè ɛdi-yòga swèka'-pi-dó,
 that-time their-body-in-EMP that-disease catch-finish-ing

nu:n-ləkhá-re.
 nu-ðwà-də.
 be.leprous-go-VSMK

8. Yòn-lau'-thí de [dou'khítá-rau'-ne-re -] dou'khá
 ɛdi-lau'-thí di [dou'khítá-yau'-ne-dé -] dou'khá
 that-much-up.to this [sufferer-reach-stay-REL] suffering

rau'-ne-re lu-dí luθà-əchòncòn-go gərúna-ʃon-tə-ù
 yau'-ne-dé lu-də luðà-əchìnjin-go gəyúna-ʃin-tə-ù
 reach-stay-REL person-PL person-mutually-EMP pity-master-one-person

əne-nén [prúzú-pri-ge -] prúzú-hnain-ge'-sə-re
 əne-né [pyúzú-pi-dó -] pyúzú-hnain-já-da-ha
 status-with [tend-finish-when] tend-can-PL-thing-SUBJ

chìhmwèn-phó mə-kàun-là?
 chìmùn-bó mə-kàun-là?
 praise-to not-be.good-Q

9. E-ʃón-re əmyà-əphrón-dókha khəriyən-θaθəna-brú-əne-nén
 Di-ou'sa-ha əmyà-əphyín-dóga khəri'yan-θaðəna-byú-əne-né
 this-thing-SUBJ most-as.regards-as.for Christian-religion-make-status-with

- θaθəna-brú-pou'go-dí-ma thà-re sei'də'.
 - θaðəna-byú-pou'go-de-hma thà-dé sei'da'.
 religion-make-person-PL-at place-REL attitude

10. Ye-khəriyən-θaθəna-brú-əne-nén yòn-pain-sei'də'-myò thà-hnain-re:
 Di-khəri'yən-θaðəna-byú-əne-né ɛdi-lo-sei'da'-myò thà-hnain-də:
 this-Christian-religion-make-status-with that-like-attitude-kind place-can-VSMK

11. ṇaró-Ró'khain-thà-thè-hma yòn-pain-sei'de'-myò mə-thà-hnain-là?
 ṇadó-Yəkhain-ṭà-dè-hma èdi-lo-sei'da'-myò mə-thà-hnain-bù-là?
 we-Arakan-person-among-in that-like-attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q
12. ṇaró-Ró'khain-thà-thè-hma-lé jí-re: úbama-sho-ló-jí-ge,
 ṇadó-Yəkhain-ṭà-dè-hma-lè jí-dè: úbama-sho-ló-jí-yin,
 we-Arakan-person-among-in-also exist-VSMK example-say-ing-be-if
 mrwein-əlenpain-pyinñā-go ṭon-phó pou'go-ró-hma
 mwe-əlanbe-pyinñā-go ṭin-mé pou'go-dó-ha
 snake-doctor-skill-ACC learn-REL person-PL-SUBJ
 ṭon-pì-phó mrwein-shəra-bà-ma ṭu-ró ṭai'sa-sho-rá-re.
 ṭin-pè-mé mwe-shəya-shi-hma ṭu-dó ṭi'sa-sho-yá-dè.
 teach-give-REL snake-teacher-presence-in he-PL promise-say-must-VSMK
13. ṭai'sa [sho -] sho-rá-re sho-zo-gá, pə-zaun-ṭai'sa-myò-lè
 ṭi'sa [sho -] sho-yá-dè sho-da-gá, bə-lo-ṭi'sa-myò-lè
 promise [say] say-must-VSMK say-thing-SUBJ what-like-promise-kind-Q
 sho-ge, e-əte'pyinñā-nén ṭu-ró-re sṭpwà-mə-hra-ba.
 sho-yin, di-əta'pyinñā-né ṭu-dó-ha sṭpwà-mə-ja-ba-bù.
 say-if this-skill-with he-PL-SUBJ profit-not-seek-POL
14. È-əte'pyinñā-nén kùṭá[pì -]-pì-pri-ge, əkhá-cṭṇwe mə-yu-ba.
 Di-əta'pyinñā-né kúṭá[pè -]-pè-pì-yin, əkhá-cṭṇwe mə-yu-ba-bù.
 this-skill-with treat[give]-give-finish-when fee-money not-take-POL
15. tə-zoun-tə-yau'-ṭò-ṭu mrwein-kai'-te-ló ṭədṭon-krà-ge phrai'-si,
 tə-zoun-tə-yau'-ṭò-ṭu mwe-kai'-te-ló ṭədṭin-cà-yin phyi'-se,
 one-any-one-person-REL-person snake-bite-VSMK-QUO report-hear-if be-let
 la-ló khə-ge phrai'-si, za-kha-myò-mə-sho, ko-lou'-nein-re
 la-bì khə-yin phyi'-se, bə-əkhā-myò-mə-sho, ko-lou'-ne-dé
 come-ing fetch-if be-let which-time-kind-not-say one-do-be-REL
 əlou'-ko swén-pri-ge, la-ló kù-bá-me-ló
 əlou'-ko sún-pì-dó, la-bì kú-bá-me-ló
 work-ACC abandon-finish-ing come-ing treat-POL-VSMK-QUO
 ṭai'sa-sho-rá-re.
 ṭi'sa-sho-yá-dè.
 promise-make-must-VSMK
16. Yòn-pain ṭai'sa-sho-pri-ge, ṭon-thà-re əlenbain
 èdi-lo ṭi'sa-sho-pì-yin, ṭin-thà-dé əlanbè
 that-like promise-say-finish-when learn-set-REL snake.doctor
 pyinñā-sho-re mrwein-kai'-te wedəna-go kùṭá-hnain-re
 pyinñā-sho-dé mwe-kai'-tè wedəna-go kúṭá-hnain-dé
 skill-call-REL snake-bite-REL injury-ACC cure-can-REL
 pyinñā-ṭon-tə-yau'-re, ṭu-nén ṇà-main-lau' wè-re
 pyinñā-ṭin-tə-yau'-ha, ṭu-né ṇà-main-lau' wè-dé
 skill-master-one-person-SUBJ he-with five-mile-about be.far-REL

rɔ-tə-rɔ-ma lu-tə-yau' mrwein-kai'-te-ló θədɔn
 ywa-tə-ywa-hma lu-tə-yau' mwe-kai'-te-ló θəɖin
 village-one-village-in person-one-person snake-bite-VSMK-QUO report

krà-gələ́, [yɔ̀n-mrwein -] θu-lou'-ne-re lou'ɲən-go
 cà-yin-lè, [ɛ̀di mwe -] θu-lou'-ne-dé lou'ɲàn-go
 hear-if [that-snake] he-do-stay-REL work-ACC

thà-khá-pri-ge là-rá-re.
 thà-gé-pi-dɔ θwà-yá-dɛ.
 leave-there-finish-ing go-must-VSMK

17. Là-brì-kha-hmá, yɔ̀n-mrwein-kai' khən-rá-re lu-í
 θwà-pi-dɔ́-hmá, ɛ̀di-mwe-kai' khan-yá-dé lu-yé
 go-finish-time-only that-snake-bite suffer-must-REL person-'s

shwemyò-ñatəka-dí-go -
 shwemyò-ñatəka-de-go -
 relative-kin-PL-ACC

18. "Cwendɔ-re e-pain-e-pain pyinña-go θɔn-phù-ba-re.
 "Cundɔ-ha di-lo-di-lo pyinña-go θin-bù-ba-dɛ.
 I-SUBJ this-like-this-like skill-ACC learn-ever-POL-VSMK

19. Mrwein-kai'-te wedəna-ʃɔn-dí əθɔ'-ko-ke-phó-dɔ́
 Mwe-kai'-tɛ wedəna-ʃin-de əθɛ'-ko-ke-bó-dɔ́
 snake-bite-REL injury-owner-PL life-ACC-save-for-as.for

cwendɔ-re e-pain-e-pain-pyinña shəra-bə-gá θɔn-thà-ba-re.
 cundɔ-ha di-lo-di-lo-pyinña shəyá-shi-gá θin-thà-ba-dɛ.
 I-SUBJ this-like-this-like-skill teacher-presence-from learn-place-POL-VSMK

20. Yɔ̀n-cəno-tɛ'-te pyinña-nén tə-cho' yɔ̀n-θu
 ɛ̀di-cəno-ta'-tɛ pyinña-né tə-shei' ɛ̀di-lu
 that-I-know-REL skill-with one-blow that-person

əθɔ'-ke-hnain-phə-là cəno kùθá-bərá-zi."
 əθɛ'-ke-hnain-mə-là cəno kùθá-bəyá-ze."
 life-save-can-for-Q I treat-may-let

21. Yə-pain-ló au'cá-khən-brì-gei, [əkù-θá -]
 ɛ̀di-lo-shobì au'cá-khan-pì-dɔ́, [əkù-θá -]
 that-like-QUO low.status-accept-finish-ing [treat]

kùθá-khwón tàun-rá-re.
 kùθá-gwín tàun-yá-dɛ.
 treat-permission ask-must-VSMK

22. Kùθá-khwón tàun-ló kùθá-khwón prú-ge, yɔ̀n-lu-re,
 Kùθá-gwín tàun-ló kùθá-gwín pyú-yin, ɛ̀di-lu-ha,
 treat-permission ask-because treat-permission give-if that-man-SUBJ

θi-phó-byɛ-ló phrai'-ne-re lu tə-yau'-re əθɔ' prən-ló
 θe-dɔ́-mə-ló phyi'-ne-dé lu tə-yau'-ha əθɛ' pyan-bì
 die-for-VSMK-QUO be-stay-REL person one-person-SUBJ life return-ing

hr̥on-la-re.

jin-la-d̥e.

revive-come-VSMK

23. Hr̥on-la-kha, əθu-mə-sho-bye-le, ko-ró-ma θi-phó-bye-ló
 jin-la-d̥é-əkha, bəθu mə-sho-le, ko-dó-hma θe-dó-mə-ló
 revive-come-time who-not-say-VSMK-EMP self-PL-in die-for-VSMK-QUO

[wedəna khenzà-nein-rá-re lu-tə-yau' -] mrwein-kai'-te

[wedəna khan-zà-ne-yá-d̥é lu-tə-yau' -] mwe-kai'-té

[injury suffer-be-must-REL person-one-person] snake-bite-REL

wedəna khenzà-nein-rá-re lu-tə-yau'-re, pr̥en-pr̥i-ge

wedəna khanzà-ne-yá-d̥é lu-tə-yau'-ha, pyan-pi-dó

suffering suffer-stay-must-REL person-one-person-SUBJ return-finish-ing

əθə'-hr̥on-la-re sho-ge, cèzù tounpr̥en-chon-re-hn̄onra.

əθə'-jin-la-d̥e sho-yin, cèzù tounpyan-jin-da-bó.

life-revive-come-VSMK say-when favour return-want-VSMK-EMP

24. Ȳon-pain cèzù-tounpr̥en-phó-atwə' θú-go-re,
 èdi-lo cèzù-tounpyan-bó-atwə' θú-go-b̄e,
 that-like favour-return-for-for he-ACC-EMP

lɔ'shaun-əne-nén phrai'-si, shìphò-wòkhá-əne-nén

lɛ'shaun-əne-né phyi'-se, shèbò-wàgá-əne-né

present-status-with be-let medicine-cost-status-with

phrai'-si, pì-ge, θú-hma-gá gədíθai'sa-khen-pr̥i-θà:

phyi'-se, pè-yin, θú-hma-gá gədíθi'sa-khan-bi-ðà:

be-let give-if he-at-EMP promise-give-finish-already

lɔ'-mə-khen-rá.

lɛ'-mə-khan-yá-bù.

hand-not-take-must

25. Ye-kha, θú-ma pə-zaun nai'na-lè sho-ge,
 èdi-dó, θú-hma b̄e-lo ni'na-l̄e sho-yin,
 that-time he-at which-like lose-Q say-if

ȳon-pyinñā-go tɛ'-khr̄on-àphr̄on, θú-hma-re

èdi-pyinñā-go ta'-chìn-àphyín, θú-hma-gá

that-skill-ACC study-matter-by.means.of he-at-EMP

əkhá-cìŋwe mə-rá.

əkhá-cèŋwe mə-yá-bù.

fee-money not-get

26. W̄on-ŋwe mə-rá-roun-ra mə-ká-θí:
 Win-ŋwe mə-yá-youn-ð̄a mə-ká-ð̄e:
 enter-money not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet

ȳon-pyinñā-go tɛ'-thà-khr̄on-àphr̄on, méinméin-ma

èdi-pyinñā-go ta'-thà-jìn-àphyín, mímí-hma

that-skill-ACC study-place-thing-by.means.of self-at

lou'-nein-já əlou'-tí,
 lou'-ne-já əlou'-te,
 do-stay-usual work-PL

ko-sìpwàrì lou'-nein-rei əlou'-tí-daunhmá, pyɔ'kwɔ'-te.
 ko-sìpwàyè lou'-ne-dé əlou'-te-daunhmá, pyɛ'kwɛ'-te.
 self-profit do-stay-REL work-PL-even spoil-VSMK

27. Ỳn-ətwɔ'-nén, e-pain-sei'dɛ'-myò-nén pyinñā-nén,
 èdi-ətwɛ'-né, èdi-lo-sei'da'-myò-né pyinñā-né,
 that-for-with that-like-attitude-kind-and skill-with

θu-tə-bà əθɔ'-ko ke-phó-kei'sá,
 θu-tə-bà əθɛ'-ko ke-bó-kei'sá,
 person-one-other life-ACC save-for-matter

[dou'khí -] dou'khá-shai'rau'-nein-re lu-tə-yau'-ko ke-phó
 [dou'khí -] dou'khá-shai'yau'-ne-dé lu-tə-yau'-ko ke-bó
 [sufferer] suffering-reach-stay-REL person-one-person-ACC save-for

kei'sá-dí-hma, swénzwén-sàzà θɔn-khá-ge'-te
 kei'sá-de-hma, súnzún-sàzà θin-gé-já-dé
 matter-PL-in sacrificing-ADV learn-there-PL-REL

ɲəró-Rɔ'khain lu-myò-dí-lé jí-khá-ge'-te.
 ɲədó-Yəkhain lu-myò-de-lè jí-gé-já-dɛ.
 we-Arakanese person-kind-PL-also be-there-PL-VSMK

28. əgú-Krɔ'-Khri-Ni lou'ɲən-əne-nén sho-ló-jí-gələ́,
 əgú-Cɛ'-Che-Ni lou'ɲən-əne-né sho-ló-jí-yin-lè,
 present-fowl-foot-red work-status-with say-ing-be-if-also

ỳn-pain-sei'-thà-myò tə-zei'-tə-deθá-go thà-phó lo-zɔ-byɛ.
 èdi-lo-sei'-thà-myò tə-zei'-tə-deθá-go thà-bó lo-da-bè.
 that-like-mind-set-kind one-quarter-one-area-ACC keep-to need-thing-EMP

29. Za-phrai'-ló-lè sho-ge, Krɔ'-Khri-Ni jèù-θuna-brú
 Ba-phyi'-ló-lè sho-yin, Cɛ'-Che-Ni jèù-θuna-byú
 what-happen-because-Q say-if fowl-foot-red first-patient-care

pyinñā sá-re pyinñā-dí-go tɛ'-thà-re lu-tə-yau'
 pyinñā sá-dé pyinñā-de-go ta'-thà-dé lu-tə-yau'
 skill begin-REL skill-PL-ACC learn-keep-REL person-one-person

əne-nén-gá, θú-ətwɔ', sipwàrì-ma phrai'-si, za-phrai'-si,
 əne-né-gá, θú-ətwɛ', sipwàyè-hma phyi'-se, ba-phyi'-se,
 status-with-SUBJ he-for profit-in be-let what-be-let

tə-khú-lé [əku -] əkuəñi mə-rá.
 tə-khú-hmá [əku -] əkuəñi mə-yá-bù.
 one-thing-even [help] help not-get

30. əkuəñi-mə-rá, θu-tə-thù-atwɔ' sho-ló-jí-ló-phrai'-ke, θu-re,
 əkuəñi-mə-yá-bù, θu-tə-thù-ətwɛ' sho-ló-jí-ló-jí-yin, θu-ha,
 help-not-get person-one-other-for say-ing-be-ing-be-if he-SUBJ

əcheinəkha-mə-rwì, endəre [tə-] təkúkhú thíkhai'-denra-rá-re
 əcheinəkha-mə-ywè, andəyè [tə-] təkúgú thíkhai'-danya-yá-dé
 time-not-choose danger [one] something injure-injury-receive-REL

lu-tə-yau'-yau' twí-ló-jí-ge, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén
 lu-tə-yau'-yau' twé-ló-jí-yin, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né
 person-one-person-person find-ing-be-if learn-keep-REL skill-with

kuñi-hnain-aun-sho-re sedəna-nén, θɔn-thà-rá-re sho-phó.
 kuñi-hnain-aun-sho-dé sedəna-né, θin-thà-yá-dé sho-da.
 help-can-so.that-say-REL goodwill-with learn-keep-must-VSMK say-for

31. E-yòn-pain θɔn-ge'-ra-hma-lé, ɲəró-re
 Di-édi-lo θin-já-ya-hma-lè, ɲadó-ha
 this-that-like learn-PL-must-thing-also we-SUBJ

jèù-θuna-brú-pyinñā-go tɛ'-thà-pri-ge, khútəgá əlenbain
 jèù-θuna-byú-pyinñā-go ta'-thà-pi-yin, khúnəgá əlanbè
 first-patient-care-skill-ACC learn-keep-finish-if just.now snake.doctor

pyinñā-go θɔn-re lu-dí-hma-pain, ɲəró-go kho-la-hmá-ra
 pyinñā-go θin-dé lu-de-hma-lo, ɲadó-go kho-la-hmá-ḏa
 skill-ACC learn-REL person-PL-at-like we-ACC fetch-come-only-only

mə-hou':
 mə-hou'-phù:
 not-be.so

32. krà-sɔ-nén twí-sɔ-nén, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén
 cà-da-né twé-da-né, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né
 hear-thing-with see-thing-with learn-keep-REL skill-with

la-la-pri-ge, θu-tə-thù əθɔ'-mə-θi-rá-aun,
 la-la-pi-dó, θu-tə-thù əθɛ'-mə-θe-yá-aun,
 come-come-finish-ing person-one-other life-not-die-must-so.that

wedəna-khenzà-hmú nèpà-lau'-aun, sho-re sei'dé'-myò-nén
 wedəna-khanzà-hmú nèpà-lau'-aun, sho-dé sei'da'-myò-né
 pain-suffer-thing be.little-be.enough-so that say-REL attitude-kind-with

là-pri-ge, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén là-ló prúzú-ge'-rə-re.
 θwà-pi-dó, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né θwà-bì pyúzú-já-yá-dé.
 come-finish-ing learn-keep-REL skill-with come-and treat-PL-must-VSMK

33. Mə-jòn-mə-lòn-zɔ hí-gə-lé meìn-ge'-hnòn.
 Mə-jìn-mə-lìn-da jí-yin-lè mè-já-bó.
 Not-clear-not-light-thing be-if-also ask-PL-EMP

2.4.2 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.2 – THE MOUSE IN THE MILK: A PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS

1. Nau'-sho-ge, de-sei'dé'-cáun wedəna-phrai'-sɔ-tí jí-re.
 Nau'-sho-yin, di-sei'da'-cáun wedəna-phyi'-ta-de jí-dé.
 more-say-if this-mind-because.of illness-occur-thing-PL exist-VSMK

2. əyɔn-tə-kha-gá ein-tə-shaun-ma ein-ʃɔn-má-tə-yau', θú-ma
əyin-tə-kha-gá ein-tə-ein-hma ein-ʃin-má-tə-yau', θú-hma
former-one-time-PT house-one-house-in house-owner-one-person she-at
ñəmə-tə-yau', ye-pri-ge əkhàinəsi wajì-má-tə-yau',
ñimá-tə-yau', da-pì-yin əkhàinəse əphwàjì-tə-yau',
sister-one-person that-finish-when servant old-female-one-person
θòun-yau' nein-ge'-te-le'.
θòun-yau' ne-já-de-dé.
three-person live-PL-VSMK-it.says
3. Ein-ʃɔn-má-dó kàungàun-phei'θa-ʃí-re – lu-chènθa-má.
Ein-ʃin-má-dó kàungàun-pai'shan-ʃí-de – lu-chànθa-má.
house-owner-female-as.for well-money-have-VSMK person-rich-female
4. Ye-ge, néin-dàin mò-lòn-ge, nó-tə-khwɔ'-si θau'-te-le'
èdi-dó né-dàin mò-lìn-dó, nó-tə-khwɛ'-si θau'-te-dé
that-when day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each drink-VSMK-it says
– [yòn-wajì –] yòn-ein-ʃɔn-má – [yòn –] yòn-ləráde'má.
– [èdi-əphwà –] èdi-ein-ʃin-má – [è-di –] èdi-θəthémá.
[that-old.lady] that-house-owner-female [that] that-rich.lady
5. Yòn-lərá-de'má-re néin-dàin mò-lòn-ge nó-tə-khwɔ'-si
èdi-θəthémá-ha né-dàin mò-lìn-dó nó-tə-khwɛ'-si
that-rich.lady-SUBJ day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each
[θau' –] θau'-nein-já ʃí-re.
[θau' –] θau'-ne-já phyi'-tə.
[drink] drink-stay-habit be-VSMK
6. Myɔ'hna-məθe θai'-pri, nó-tə-khwɔ' θau'-pəlai'-te-byə.
Mye'hna-debade θi'-pì, nó-tə-khwɛ' θau'-pəlai'-ta-bè.
face-and.such wash-finish milk-one-cup drink-through-VSMK-EMP
7. θú-ətɔw' əmrédèn əshɔnθón-zi pyɔn-thà-ge'-te.
θú-ətwe' əmyédán əshinóin pyin-thà-já-de.
she-for always ready-each prepare-place-PL-VSMK
8. Nó θau'-pəlai'-pri-ge yòn-məmə-re
Nó θau'-pəlai'-pì-yin èdi-mèinmə-ha
milk drink-through-finish-when that-woman-SUBJ
mrèn-ló-shèn-ló twí-re-byə.
làn-ló-shàn-ló phyi'la-da-bè.
refresh-ing-refresh-ing find-VSMK-EMP
9. tə-rɔ'néin-kha-lé yòn-pain-ləgàun θu-ei'-ra-gá [myɔ'hna –]
tə-né-hma-lè èdi-lo-bè θu-ei'-ya-gá [mye'hna –]
one-day-time-also that-way-same she-sleep-place-from [face]
thá-pri-ge, myɔ'hna-məθe θai'-te.
thá-pì-dó, mye'hna-debade θi'-tə.
rise-finish-when face-and.such wash-VSMK

10. $\theta w\grave{a}$ -tai'-te myo'hna- $\theta ai'$ -te lou'-pri-ge, $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{a}tw\acute{o}'$ $\acute{a}sh\acute{o}n\theta\acute{o}n$
 $\theta w\grave{a}$ -tai'-ta mye'hna- $\theta i'$ -ta lou'-pi-d \acute{o} , $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{a}tw\acute{e}'$ $\acute{a}shin\theta\acute{o}n$
teeth-brush-thing face-wash-thing do-finish-when she-for ready

py $\acute{o}n$ -thà-re nó-go yu-pri-ge $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -te-by \acute{e} .
pyin thà-d \acute{e} nó-go yu-pi-d \acute{o} $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -ta-b \acute{e} .
prepare-place-REL milk-ACC take-finish-when drink-through-VSMK-EMP
11. Y $\acute{o}n$ θu [$\theta au'$ -] nó $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -te $\acute{a}chein$ -ma,
 $\acute{e}di$ θu [$\theta au'$ -] nó $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -t \acute{e} $\acute{a}chein$ -hma,
that she [drink] milk drink-through-REL time-at

 $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{n}\acute{e}m\acute{a}$ -gá-l \acute{e} zì-go là-khá-re;
 $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{n}\acute{e}m\acute{a}$ -gá-l \acute{e} zè-go $\theta w\grave{a}$ -ne-d \acute{e} ;
her-sister-SUBJ-also market-to go-there-VSMK
12. $\acute{a}sekhen$ -má-l \acute{e} y $\acute{o}n$ -n $\acute{e}ra$ -ma m \acute{a} -j $\acute{í}$.
 $\acute{a}segan$ -má-l \acute{e} $\acute{e}di$ -n $\acute{e}ya$ -hma m \acute{a} -j $\acute{í}$ -b \acute{u} .
servant-female-also that-place-in not-be
13. Nó-m $\acute{a}\theta e$ $\theta au'$ -l \acute{o} -pri-kha, θu -mr $\acute{e}n$ -l \acute{o} -sh $\acute{e}n$ -l \acute{o} [twí-kha -]
Nó-debade $\theta au'$ -l \acute{o} -pi-d \acute{e} -akha, θu -l $\acute{a}n$ -l \acute{o} -sh $\acute{a}n$ -l \acute{o} [phyi'-t \acute{e} akha -]
milk.and-such drink-ing-finish-time she-refresh-ing-refresh-ing [find-time]

twí-pri-ge θu nein-d $\acute{o}un$ -ma, $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{a}kh\acute{a}in\acute{e}si$ -wajimá
phyi'-pi-d \acute{o} θu ne-d $\acute{o}un$ -hma, $\theta\acute{u}$ - $\acute{a}kh\acute{a}in\acute{e}se$ - $\acute{a}phw\grave{a}j\acute{i}$
see-finish-when she be-while-in her-servant-old.lady

l \acute{o} '-ma doun-t \acute{a} -doun-n $\acute{e}n$ t \acute{o} '-l \acute{e} '-te-by \acute{e} .
l \acute{e} '-hma j $\acute{a}in$ -t \acute{a} -j $\acute{a}in$ -n \acute{e} t \acute{e} '-la-da-b \acute{e} .
hand-in can-one-can-with ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK.
14. L \acute{o} '-ma doun-t \acute{a} -doun-n $\acute{e}n$ [t \acute{o} '-l \acute{e} '-ke -] t \acute{o} '-l \acute{e} '-pri-ge -
L \acute{e} '-hma j $\acute{a}in$ -t \acute{a} -j $\acute{a}in$ -n \acute{e} [t \acute{e} '-la-d \acute{o} -] t \acute{e} '-la-pi-d \acute{o} -
hand-in can-one-can-with [ascend-come-when] ascend-come-finish-when
15. "Hn. Mámá nó [$\theta au'$ -kw \acute{e}' -] $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -pa-b \acute{a} -là,"
"Hn. Mámá nó [$\theta au'$ -ku' -] $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -pa-b \acute{a} -là,"
what sister milk [drink-edge] drink-up-POL-VSMK-Q

y $\acute{a}pain$ -l \acute{o} m $\acute{e}in$ -re.
 $\acute{e}di$ -l \acute{o} -shobì m \acute{e} -d \acute{e} .
thus-QUO ask-VSMK
16. M $\acute{e}in$ -ge - "È. $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -py \acute{e} . Za-phrai'-l \acute{o} -l \acute{e} ?"
M \acute{e} -d \acute{o} - "È. $\theta au'$ -p $\acute{a}lai'$ -pi. Ba-phyi'-l \acute{o} -l \acute{e} ?"
ask-when mm drink-up-VSMK what-happen-because-Q
17. "Y $\acute{o}n$ -nó-go $\acute{a}cw\acute{e}n$ pai'-phó thà-z \acute{o} -ba.
" $\acute{e}di$ -nó-go c $\acute{a}m\acute{a}$ pyi'-phó thà-da-ba.
that-milk-ACC I throw-for set-thing-POL
18. K $\acute{r}w\acute{o}'$ -t \acute{a} -gaun cá- θi -l $\acute{a}kh\acute{a}$ -ba-l \acute{o} ." Y \acute{a} -pain sho-re.
Cw \acute{e}' -t \acute{a} -gaun cá- θe - $\acute{d}w\grave{a}$ -l \acute{o} ." $\acute{e}di$ -l \acute{o} sho-d \acute{e} .
mouse-one-creature fall-die-go-POL-because this-way say-VSMK

19. Sho-ge, "əcwən nó-əθai' we-ba-khigà – māmá-θau'-phó-ló.
Sho-dó, "Cəmə nó-əθi' wə-la-da-bè – māmá-θau'-phó-ló.
say-when I milk-new buy-POL-EXCL sister-drink-for-because
20. Yòn-nó pai'-pəlai'-phó-ló," sho-ge, yòn-məmə-re –
èdi-nó pyi'-pəlai'-phó-ló," sho-dó, èdi-mèinmə-ha –
that-milk throw-out-for-because say-when that-sister-EMP
21. "Hn! Krwə' cá-ló θi-re nó-go ɲa θau'-mí-byə.
"Hn! Cwə' cá-bì θe-dé nó-go ɲa θau'-mí-bi.
ha mouse fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC I drink-happen-VSMK
22. ɲa-dó dou'khá-byə.
ɲa-dó dou'khá-bè.
I-as.for trouble-EMP
23. Krwə' sho-zə-myò-gá phaunθa-mə-lé yòn-kwə'
Cwə' sho-da-myò-gá einðə-mə-lè èdi-cwə'
mouse say-thing-kind-SUBJ lavatory-in-also that-mouse
rau'-ləkhá-re-byə;
yau'-θwà-da-bè;
get-go-VSMK-VSMK
24. rəθòun-mə-lé yòn-kwə' rau'-ləkhá-re-byə. Nn.
yechògàn-mə-lè èdi-cwə' yau'-θwà-da-bè. Nn.
bathroom-in-also that-mouse get-go-VSMK-VSMK oh.dear
25. Sou'pé-re nəra-hu-θə-hmyá-ma yòn-kwə'-re là-nein-zə
Sou'pé-dé neya-hu-ðə-hmyá-hma èdi-cwə'-ha θwà-ne-da
be.dirty-REL place-say-REL-all-in that-mouse-EMP go-be-VSMK
jaungrojaungrà-go – yòn-kwə'
jaunjojaunjà-go – èdi-cwə'
nook.and.cranny-ACC that-mouse
nó-thè-go cá-lə-khá sho-brì nau'-ko yòn-əñai'əkrè
nó-dè-go cá-ðwà-bi sho-dó nau'-ko èdi-əñi'əcè
milk-inside-ACC fall-go-time say-finish after-ACC that-dirt
səzou'pəbé-dí-àlòun nó-thè-ma phyə-ló-fí-re –
sou'sou'pəbé-de-àlòun nó-dè-hma phyə-ne-də –
dirt-PL-all milk-inside-in infuse-ing-be-VSMK
26. phyə-thé-lai'-pain jí-ne-phó.
phyə-thé-lai'-θəlo jí-ne-me.
infuse-add-just-like be-stay-for
27. Yòn-fón ɲa θau'-mí mə-là – gú," sho-pri-ge,
èdi-ou'sa ɲa θau'-mí(bi) məhou'-là – gú," sho-pì-dó,
that-thing I drink-happen not.so-Q now say-finish-ing
θu-re twè-yòn, rwən-yòn,
θu-ha twè-yìn, yun-yìn,
she-SUBJ ponder-ing revolt-ing

- ɛn-chɔn-yɔ̃n, phrai'-la-pri-ge, ɛn-byɛ.
 an-jin-yin, phyi'-la-pi-dó, an-yò.
 vomit-want-ing be-come-finish-when vomit-VSMK
28. ɛn-sɔ, ɛn-sɔ, ɛn-sɔ-re – mə-shòun-dèn.
 An-da, an-da, an-da-ha – mə-shòun-dàn.
 vomit-thing vomit-thing vomit-thing-EMP not-end-thing
29. Nau'-sho-ge, – θú-ma-gá sei'-cau' pa-nein-zɔ-gò –
 Nau'-sho-yin, – θú-hma-gá cau'-sei' pa-ne-da-gò –
 after-say-if she-at-SUBJ mind-fear have-stay-thing-EMP
 twè-yɔ̃n, rwɛn-zəra-dí-go θədírá-yɔ̃n, rwɛn-yɔ̃n, ɛn-yɔ̃n –
 twè-yin, yun-zəya-de-go θədíyá-yin, yun-yin, an-yin –
 ponder-ing disgusting-things-PL-ACC remember-ing revolt-ing vomit-ing
 yɔ̃n-pain-ɛn-ge, pəthəmə́-kha-dó əsa-pa-re-byɛ-le.
 ɛdi-lo-an-dó, pəthəmə́-dó əsa-pa-da-bè-le.
 that-like-vomit-when first-time-as.for food-contain-VSMK-EMP-you.know
30. θau'-thà-re nó-dí thwɔ'-cá-re.
 θau'-thà-dé nó-de thwɛ'-cá-dɛ.
 drink-keep-REL milk-PL emerge-fall-VSMK
31. Yəpain-hnɔ̃n-bɔn – əsa-dí pa-re.
 ɛdi-lo-bè – əsa-de pa-dɛ.
 that-way-EMP food-PL contain-VSMK
32. ɛn-phɛn myà-ge, əsa mə-pa-byɛ.
 An-ban myà-dó, əsa mə-pa-dó-bù.
 vomit-time be.numerous-when food not-contain-VSMK
33. Le-ra ɛn-re-byɛ.
 Le-ṭa an-da-bè.
 air-only vomit-VSMK-EMP
34. Sho-ge, ɛn-phɛn myà-ge, lu-re ñɔ̃pa-lɛ'-te-hnɔ̃nra.
 Sho-dó, an-ban myà-dó, lu-ha myɔ̃ṭwà-da-bó.
 say-when vomit-time be.numerous-when person-EMP float-go-VSMK-EMP
35. Mɛ'tɛ' mə-ne-hnain-byɛ.
 Ma'ta' mə-ne-hnain-dó-bù.
 upright not-stay-can-VSMK
36. Nwɛn-nwɛn-pri-ge θu ei'-ra-hma-ra pɔ'lo' lè-pri-ge,
 Nùn-nùn-pi-dó θu ei'-ya-hma-ṭa pɛ'le' hlɛ-pi-dó,
 weaken-weaken-finish-when she sleep-place-in-only on.her.back lie-finish-ing
 rɔ̃gaθɛ-tə-yau' phrai'-ləkhá-re-byɛ.
 yɔ̃gaṭɛ-tə-yau' phyi'-θwà-da-bè.
 invalid-one-person be-go-VSMK-EMP
37. Phrai'-lə-ge, ñəmə́θɛ zì-gá prɛn-la-re.
 Phyi'-θwà-dó, ñimáṭɛ zè-gà pyan-la-dɛ.
 be-go-when sister market-from return-come-VSMK

38. *ñámáθe-gá zì-là-ló-jí-re sho-gò.*
ñimáðe-gá zè-θwà-ne-de sho-gò.
 sister-SUBJ market-go-ing-be-VSMK say-indeed
39. *ñámáθe zì-gá prèn-la-ge,*
ñimáðe zè-gá pyan-la-dó,
 sister market-from return-come-when
- tə-cho'-kré-ma tho-nəra-ma-lé enphe' shì-thà-zo,*
tə-che' cí-lai'-tó ho-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da,
 one-glance-look-in that-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing
- de-nəra-ma-lé enphe' shì-thà-zo; ein-bre'lòun-lé cì-ló*
di-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da; tæin-lòun-lè jou'-ló
 this-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing
- pà-ló phrai'-ne-byə.*
thwè-ló phyi'-ne-da-bè.
 be.dirty-ing be-stay-VSMK
40. *Ein-bre'lòun-lé cì-ló-pà-ló rwen-gráunthəmèn*
Tæin-lòun-lè jou'-ló-thwè-ló yun-zəyaji
 house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing-be.dirty-ing disgust-ing
- phrai'-roun-ra mə-ká-θí:*
phyi'-youn-ðə mə-ká-ðè:
 be-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet
41. *tə-cho'-kré-lai'-te-ma èmáθe-lé ei'-ra-ma sòn-ló.*
tə-che'-cí-lai'-té əkha-hma əmáðe-lè ei'-ya-hma sìn-ló.
 one-glance-look-just-REL-at sister-also sleep-place-in stretch-ing
42. “*əbá-lè! əmí:n-lè!’-ló, ñi:n-ló-ñu-ló phrai'-ne-byə.*”
 “*əbá-lè! əmí-lè!’-ló, ñi-ló-ñu-ló phyi'-ne-da-bè.*”
 father-little mother-little-QUO moan-ing-groan-ing be-stay-VSMK
43. *Phrai'-nein-ge, “Za-phrai'-pa-lè-məmə?”*
Phyi'-ne-dó, “Ba-phyi'-pa-lè-má-má?”
 be-stay-ing what-happen-POL-Q-sister
44. *Yə-pain-ló mèin-ge – “Za-phrai'-ló sho-ga-he – ɲa*
èdi-lo-shobì mè-dó – “Ba-phyi'-ló sho-dó-he – ɲa
 this-like-QUO ask-when what-happen-ing say-when-hey I
- krwə'-cá-ló θi-re nó-go θau'-mí-byə,” sho-re.*
cwe'-cá-bì θe-dé nó-go θau'-mí-bi,” sho-dé.
 mouse-fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC drink-inadvertently-VSMK say-VSMK
45. *Sho-ge, ñámáθe-gá – “Za-nó-lè.*
Sho-dó, ñimáðe-gá – “Ba-nó-lè.
 say-when sister-SUBJ what-milk-Q
46. *Krwə' cá-ló θi-zə – [nó –] yòn-nó-go əcwen*
Cwə' cá-bì θe-da – [nó –] èdi-nó-go cəmə
 mouse fall-ing die-thing [milk]-that-milk-ACC I

wè-pəlai'-při-ge, ò-daunhmá-əθai'-néen cho'-při-ge,
 θun-pəlai'-pì-dó, ò-daunhmá-əθi'-né che'-pì-dó,
 throw-out-finish-ing pot-even-new-with cook-finish-and

əθai' thà-khá-zo-ra mə-là."
 əθi' thà-gé-da-đa mə-hou'-là."
 new put-there-thing-EMP not.be.so-Q

47. Yə-pain-ló prò-kha - "O. Yòn-krwə' cá-ló θi-re
 èdi-lo-shobì pyò-dé-əkha - "O. èdi-cwə' cá-bì θe-dé
 that-way-QUO say-time oh that-mouse fall-ing die-REL

nó pai'-lai'-pələ."
 nó pyi'-lai'-pələ."
 milk throw-out-VSMK-Q

48. "Gú pai'-pə-khá-byə - əcwən.
 "Gú pyi'-pyi'-khé-bi - cəmə.
 now throw-out-there-VSMK I

49. Ye-při-ge ò-daunhmá əθai' - ò-əθai'-sə-nén
 Da-pì-yin ò-daunhmá əθi' - ò-əθi'-ha-né
 that-finish-when pot-even new pot-new-thing-with
 [sə' -] cho'-při-ge, əθai'-nó we-ló cho'-pə-khá-sə-re-ʃón,"
 [se' -] che'-pì-dó, nó-əθi' wə-bì che'-pyi'-khé-da-bè-ou'sa,"
 [sook] cook-finish-when new-milk buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing-EMP-thing
 sho-ge, khenzà-ne-rá-re wedəna-àlòun pyau'-ləkhá-re-byə.
 sho-dó, khanzà-ne-yá-dé wedəna-àlòun pyau'-θwà-da-bè.
 say-when suffer-be-must-REL illness-all vanish-go-VSMK-EMP

50. Yòn-pain phrai'-sə-re, wedəna, ən-re-ʃ-re
 èdi-lo phyi'-ta-ha, wedəna, an-dé-ʃ-dé
 that-like happen-thing-EMP illness vomit-REL-vomit-REL
 phrai'-la-rá-sə-le tə-khú-shì-jaún,
 phyi'-la-yá-da-lè shè-tə-khú-jaún,
 become-come-must-thing-also one-thing-drug-because.of
 [əprən -] əprən-pəyògá-jaún-lé mə-hou': sei'-cáun-byə.
 [əpyin -] əpyin-pəyògá-jaún-lè mə-hou'-phù: sei'-cáun-bè.
 [ext] external-influence-because.of-also not-be.so mind-because.of-EMP

51. Prən-brì yòn-wedəna-gá pyau'kòn-ləkhá-rá-sə-lé
 Pyan-bì èdi-wedəna-gá pyau'kìn-θwà-yá-da-lè
 return-ing that-illness-SUBJ vanish-go-must-thing-also
 sei'-kráun-byə.
 sei'-cáun-bè.
 mind-because.of-EMP

52. Yòn-nén sei'-ko ədíká-thà-ló prò-sə.
 èda-né sei'-ko ədíká-thà-ló pyò-da.
 that-with mind-ACC main-place-QUO say-thing

2.4.3 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.3 – THE BANYAN TREE AND THE INDIAN PLOT: MIRACULOUS POWERS OF COX’S ORDINATION HALL

Note: Cox’s Bazaar was founded by Sir Hiram Cox for war refugees. Hence the Arakanese name Phələun-chei’: ‘the Westerner’s city’.

1. θəmí-ró θà-ró.
θəmì-dó θà-dó.
daughter-PL son-PL
2. [Ka-θε’fɔn θε’tí –] Kaθε’-əfɔn te-khá-zɔ
[Ka-θəkhin θa’tí –] Ka-θəkhin tɛ-gé-da
[Cox-master power] Cox-master found-there-thing
mróɔ θε’tí-əkrəun-go prɔ-prá-me.
myóɔ θa’tí-əcəun-go pyɔ-pyá-me.
city power-about-ACC tell-show-VSMK
3. È. Prɔ-prá-me. əpoun-prɔ-prá-khá-zɔ fí-re.
È. Pyɔ-pyá-me. əpoun-pyɔ-pyá-gé-da fí-dɛ.
yes tell-show-VSMK much-tell-show-there-thing be-VSMK
4. È. [θε’tí –] gu:n-θε’tí-ná fí-khá-re.
È. [θa’tí –] goun-θa’tí-né fí-gé-dɛ.
yes [power] honour-power-with be-there-VSMK
5. fí-khá-kha-re yɔn-mróɔ-re əyɔn-khau’-kha tò-rwa.
fí-gé-dó-ga èdi-myóɔ-ha əyin-khi’-hma tò-ywa.
be-there-time-EMP that-city-SUBJ former-period-in country-village
6. Tò-rwɔ-kha-re lu-lé mə-fí sho-kha, e-ma
Tò-ywa-dəun-gá lu-lè mə-fí-bù sho-dó, èdi-hma
country-village-when-EMP person-also not-be say-time that-in
Rəkhain-θà-ró-go mró-tə-mró chá-re –
Yəkhain-θà-dó-go myó-tə-myó chá-dɛ –
Arakanese-son-PL-ACC town-one-town found-VSMK
rɔ-tə-rɔ chá-re.
ywa-tə-ywa chá-dɛ.
village-one-village found-VSMK
7. Chá-kha, ye-fɔn-re tə-ní:n-thɔ’-tə-rɔ’ sekà-ló
Chá-dó, èdi-ou’sa-ha tə-né-dɛ’-tə-né sigà-ló
found-when that-thing-SUBJ one-night-over-one-day be.populous-ing
la-kha, yɔn-fɔn-ma θeindo-grì-tə-khú-gá
la-dó, èdi-ou’sa-hma θeindo-jì-tə-khú-gá
come-when that-thing-SUBJ hall-big-one-item-SUBJ
əthwɛ’təmre’ Kaθε’-fɔn te-khá-re.
əthu’əmya’ Ka-θəkhin tɛ-gé-dɛ.
most.noble Cox-master set.up-there-VSMK
8. Te-khá-kha-re e-fɔn pəlau’-thí təgò-fí-re
Tɛ-gé-dó-ga èdi-ou’sa bəlau’-thí təgò-fí-dɛ
found-there-time-EMP that-thing how.much-up.to power-have-VSMK

sho-zo-go, ñaun-bon-gələ-tə-bon sai'-te.
 sho-da-go, ñaun-bin-gələ-tə-bin sai'-te.
 say-thing-ACC banyan-tree-small-one-tree plant-VSMK

9. Ỳn-ñaun-bon-grì-re ỳn-θeindo-go-re əkho'əɬ'-mə-thò-bè,
 èdi-ñaun-bin-jì-ha èdi-θeindo-go əkhe'əɬ'-mə-thò-bè,
 that-banyan-tree-big-SUBJ that-hall-ACC-EMP branch-not-touch-without
 əmrai'-mə-thò-bè, gú-tho'-thí jí-re.
 əmyi'-mə-thò-bè, gú-də'-thí jí-də.
 root-not-touch-without now-time-up.to be-VSMK

10. [Mm. jí -] jí-re. əgú-lé θà-θəmì-ró-go əmɔn-re
 [Mm. jí -] jí-də. əgú-lè θà-θəmì-dó-go əme-ha
 [mm be] be-VSMK now-also son-daughter-PL-ACC mother-SUBJ
 kho-ló prá-chon-re.
 kho-bì pyá-jin-də.
 take-and show-want-VSMK

11. È. E-lau'-thí təgò-θe'tí-ná prézoun-khá-re
 È. è-di-lau'-athí təgò-θa'tí-né pyézoun-gé-dé
 yes that-much-up.to glory-power-with be.full-there-REL
 Kaθe'-ʃon-ló gú-tho'-thí-lé rou'thúdwə-ná
 Ka-θəkhin-ló gú-də'-thí-lè you'thúdwə-né
 Cox-master-QUO now-time-up.to-also statue-with
 kòkwe-ló jí-re.
 kòkwe-ló ne-də.
 worship-ing be-VSMK

12. È. Rəkhain-ma kho-re Phəlàun-chei' -
 È. Yəkhain-hma kho-də Phəlàun-chei' -
 yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city
 è: Rəkhain-ma kho-re Phəlàun-chei';
 è: Yəkhain-hma kho-də Phəlàun-chei';
 yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city

13. e-ge Kəlà-ma kho-re Kə'səBaza-ló kho-re.
 di-dó Kəlà-hma kho-də Kə'səBaza-ló kho-də.
 this-when Indian-in call-REL Cox's.Bazaar-QUO call-VSMK

14. Hnai'-təin-hnai'-təin θongrən-Wa-jwə' sho-ge,
 Hni'-təin-hni'-təin θinjan-Wa-ju' sho-yin,
 year-every-year-every Thingyan-Lent-release say-when
 təθəunshalou' pwè-cá-re.
 cìjicəje pwè-cá-də.
 lavishly feast-fall-VSMK

15. Pyɔ-phó-lé əlwən kàun-re.
Pyɔ-bó-lè əlun kàun-dɛ.
enjoy-for-also much be.good-VSMK
16. È. [Nau' -] nau'-kha-lé zedi-rɔ̃n-θeindo-ró-ma
È. [Nau' -] nau'-tɔ́-lè zedi-yin-θeindo-dó-hma
yes [late] late-time-also pagoda-base-hall-PL-in
[shəmìn -] shəmì:n thwèn-ge'-te, shwèndɔ̃-grì làun-ge'-te.
[shimì -] shi-mì thùn-já-dɛ, shùndɔ̃-jì làun-já-dɛ.
[oil.fire] oil.fire light-PL-VSMK alms.rice-great offer-PL-VSMK
17. È. Wa-jwɛ'-kha sho-ge, θònbou'-shwèn tɔ̃n-ge'-te.
È. Wa-ju'-kha sho-yin, θinbou'-shùn tin-já-dɛ.
yes Lent-release-time say-when thinbok-rice place-PL-VSMK
18. Yò̃n-fón-tí-go-re kəgàun pyɔ-phó kàun-dɛ.
èdi-ou'sa-de-go-gá kàun-gàun pyɔ-bó kàun-dɛ.
that-thing-PL-EMP-SUBJ well enjoy-for be.good-VSMK
19. E-fón-re [əmɔ̃n -] əmɔ̃n-ró-lé hnai'-tàĩn yò̃n-fón
èdi-ou'sa-ha [əme -] əme-dó-lè hni'-tàĩn èdi-ou'sa
that-thing-SUBJ [mother] mother-PL-also year-every that-thing
pwè cá-kha, əchein cá-kha, kó-tàinpre-go aú̃nmeín-re.
pwè cá-yin, əchein cá-yin, kó-tàinpye-go au'mé-dɛ.
festival come-time time come-when self-country-ACC recall-VSMK
20. Nau'-re pə-lau'-thí təgò-hí-re sho-zɔ̃-go, Kəlà-tí
Nau'-tɔ́ bə-lau'-athí təgò-fí-dɛ sho-da-go, Kəlà-de
later-when how-much-up.to power-have-VSMK say-thing-ACC Indian-PL
phyɔ'shì-phó pyɔ̃n-kha, i:nmɔ'-tɔ̃-lé pì-re.
phyɛ'shì-bó pyin-dó, einmɛ'-tɔ̃-lè pè-dɛ.
destroy-to prepare-time dream-holy-also give-VSMK
21. È. "Mə-phyɔ'-ké! E-θeindo-ná zedidɔ̃-go phyɔ'-te
È. "Mə-phyɛ'-né! Di-θeindo-né zedidɔ̃-go phyɛ'-te
yes not-destroy-VSMK that-hall-and pagoda-ACC destroy-VSMK
sho-ge, lɔ'-thí-ló jí-ge, [θɔ' - mm -] nɔ̃n-ró-re
sho-yin, lɛ'-thí-ló jí-yin, [θɛ' - mm -] nin-dó-ha
say-if hand-touch-ing be-if [life mm] you-PL-SUBJ
dou'khá twí-lí:n-me."
dou'khá twé-léin-me."
trouble find-surely-VSMK
22. I:nmɔ' θòun-kha pì-re-le'.
Einmɛ' θòun-ga pè-dɛ-dɛ.
dream three-time give-VSMK-reported
23. Mm. Pì-kha-re yò̃n-fón-tí Kəlà-tí-gá krau'-ló
Mm. Pì-dó èdi-ou'sa-de Kəlà-de-gá cau'-ló
mm finish-time-SUBJ that-thing-PL Indian-PL-SUBJ fear-because

gú-thó'-thí rəro-θəθe – è – e-ʃón-go-re
 gú-dé'-thí yoyo-θeðe – è – di-ou'sa-go-bè
 now-time-up.to respectful-ADV yes this-thing-ACC-EMP

prúpɹɔn-ló-thà-re-lé'.
 pyúpyin-thà-dé-dé.
 repair-ing-set-VSMK-reported

24. E-ʃón-re nɔn-ró-go prò-prá-chɔn-re.
 Di-ou'sa-bè nin-dó-go pyð-pyá-jin-dé.
 that-thing-SUBJ you-PL-ACC tell-show-want-VSMK

2.4.4 TRANSLATIONS

2.4.4.1 THE LEPER COLONY AND THE SNAKEBITE DOCTORS: THE VOCATIONAL ASPECT OF RED CROSS WORK

1. I'm going to tell you about those aspects of our work in the Red Cross which call for unselfishness. 2. In general the kind of attitude that is needed could be called the 'missionaries' attitude'. 3. I've seen this missionaries' attitude in practice. There's a leper institution in Han-tha-wadi – one for men and one for women.

4. The girls at the mission there used to kneel down in chapel and say, 5. "I am resolved to devote my life to looking after these unfortunate people until I die. I dedicate my body to God". 6. They made this vow before God, and they looked after the lepers. 7. They went on and on looking after the lepers, and after some time, they caught the disease themselves: they too became lepers.

8. The fact that they were able, out of compassion for their fellow men, to go such lengths to look after those people in trouble, is a pretty fine thing, isn't it? 9. Now that is the kind of attitude adopted, on the whole, by Christian missionaries – by the people in the missions.

10. Now if these Christian missionaries can have that kind of attitude, 11. can't any of us Arakanese have it too? 12. In fact it does exist among us. For example, people who are going to learn to treat snakebite have to take an oath in the presence of their teacher. 13. The oath is that they will not use their skill for profit. 14. They will accept no fee for their treatment. 15. They have to swear that if they hear someone has been bitten, or if they are called for, whatever time of day or night it may be, they will abandon what they are doing and go and give treatment.

16. This means that when a person has learnt the skills that enable him to cure snakebite, if he hears that someone has been bitten, in, say, a village five miles away, he must lay aside his work and go. 17. When he gets there he must say to the relatives of the man who has been bitten,

18. "I have studied such and such skills. 19. I have learnt these skills from a teacher in order to save the lives of persons suffering from snakebite. 20. Please may I use these skills I have acquired to treat this person and try and save his life?" 21. He has to request permission in this humble way. 22. If his request is granted, then suppose he saves the life of a man on the brink of death. 23. When a man suffering from a snakebite that could have been fatal is saved from death, it is only natural that he should want to make some recompense. 24.

Should he then offer something, either as a present, or to meet the cost of the drugs, the doctor is under oath, and he must not accept it.

25. The doctor loses by this, in that he gets no fee for the skills he has learnt. 26. Not only does he get no income from it, but as a result of having learnt his skills, his normal work, the work he does for a living, suffers. 27. So there have been some of us Arakanese who have had this attitude and these skills, and who have studied at personal sacrifice in order to save the lives of others and to bring relief to those in trouble.

28. And something of that kind of attitude is needed for work in the Red Cross now; 29. because a person who has learnt First Aid and other skills with the Red Cross gains no material reward from it, financial or otherwise. 30. He does it for the sake of others and without reward, which means that he must pursue his studies with the sole intention of being able to give help, by means of the skills he has learnt, if at any time he comes across a person who has been injured.

31. When we have studied First Aid and learnt it, then, like the snakebite doctors just now, we mustn't wait to be fetched: 32. if we hear of an accident, or see one, then we must come with the intention of saving a life with our skill, or easing pain, and must treat the patient with the skills we have learnt. 33. Now if there's anything that's not quite clear, please ask me about it.

2.4.4.2 THE MOUSE IN THE MILK: A PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS

1. Another thing is that there are cases of illness brought about by psychological causes. 2. Once there was a house where there lived the mistress of the house, her younger sister, and an old woman who worked for them – the three of them lived there together. 3. The old lady had plenty of money – she was a rich woman.

4. Every day at dawn she used to drink a glass of milk – this mistress of the house, the rich one. 5. It was her habit to drink a glass of milk at dawn every day. 6. She used to drink it after washing her face and so on. 7. They always used to have it ready for her. 8. After drinking the milk she used to feel refreshed.

9. One day she got up and washed her face in the usual way – 10. brushed her teeth and washed her face; and then she drank the milk that had been left ready for her. 11. At the time her sister had gone out shopping 12. and the servant wasn't there. 13. After drinking the milk and so on she was feeling all refreshed, when the old servant woman came in with a can in her hand. 14. In she came with this can in her hand, and she said,

15. "What? Did you drink that milk?"

16. "Yes, I drank it. What of it?"

17. "I put that milk there to be thrown away. 18. Because a mouse fell in and drowned in it", she said. 19. "I've just bought some fresh milk for you to drink. 20. That lot was to be thrown out". So the mistress said,

21. "What? You mean I've drunk the milk the mouse drowned in? 22. Oh dear dear. 23. A mouse is the kind of thing that's in and out of the lavatory 24. and in and out of the bathroom. Oh dear. 25. It gets into every dirty place there is, all the out-of-the-way corners, and if that mouse fell into my milk all that dirt and filth must have got into the milk. 26. It's as if it had all been warmed up together. 27. And now I've gone and drunk it have I?", she

said, and with dwelling on it, and being revolted by it, she began to feel sick, and then she vomited. 28. She went on and on and on vomiting – she couldn't stop. 29. And then – she was thoroughly frightened you see – she went on thinking about it, and how disgusting it was, and feeling revolted, and vomiting, and at first there was something to bring up: 30. all the milk she'd drunk came up, 31. so there was something there. 32. But as she went on there was nothing more to come – 33. she was just retching. 34. After all this, inevitably, she felt faint. 35. She couldn't stand up any longer. 36. She got weaker and weaker, and finally lay flat out on her bed: she was really ill.

37. At that point, her sister came back from the shops – 38. she'd been out shopping, you remember. 39. When she came back she took a quick look round and saw the traces of vomit cleared up in several places, and found the whole house in a mess. 40. Not only was the whole place in a shocking mess, 41. but glancing round she found her sister laid out in bed.

42. "Goodness gracious me", she cried, all upset, 43. "Whatever has been going on?" 44. To which her sister replied –

"What's been going on, my dear, is that I drank the milk a mouse drowned in". 45. So her sister said,

"What milk? 46. I threw out that milk the mouse drowned in. I even used a different pan to warm the fresh lot I left for you, didn't you know?" 47. At that, he sister said,

"Oh? You mean you threw out the milk the mouse drowned in?"

48. "I threw it out just now, I did. 49. And even the pan – I got a fresh pan and bought fresh milk and warmed it for you". And with that, all the symptoms she'd been suffering from vanished.

50. Now all that happened to her, all the illness, the vomiting, was not brought about by some drug, some external agency: it was entirely psychological. 51. And her complete recovery from all the symptoms, that was psychological too. 52. That's why we are told to give first place to the patient's state of mind.

2.4.4.3 THE BANYAN TREE AND THE INDIAN PLOT: THE MIRACULOUS POWERS OF COX'S ORDINATION HALL

1. Listen children: 2. I'm going to tell you about the greatness of the city that Lord Cox founded. 3. Yes. I'm going to tell you. There's a lot they tell about it.

4. Well. It's a great city. 5. In early times that great city was just a little village. 6. In those days there was hardly anyone in it, and he founded a town there for the Arakanese – or really a village to start with. 7. Day by day it got bigger and bigger, and then Lord Cox built a holy ordination hall there. 8. His ordination hall was so sacred that when he planted a little banyan tree there, 9. and the tree grew, it never spread its branches over the hall, and never thrust its roots under it. It's still there, 10. still there. I'd like to take you children along and show it to you.

11. Well. And as for that Lord Cox who had such great powers, there's a statue of him there still which people worship. 12. Yes. The Arakanese call the town Phalaùn-cheik. Yes: the Arakanese call it Phalaùn-cheik, 13. and the Indians call it Cox's Bazaar.

14. Every year when Thìn gyan and the end of Lent come round, there's a huge festival. 15. Everyone has tremendous fun. 16. Yes, and then, at that hall by the pagoda, they light oil lamps and make offerings of holy rice. 17. Yes. And at the end of Lent they make the thinbok rice-offering. 18. It's all tremendous fun. 19. Every year when the festival comes round, when the time comes round, I feel a great longing for my own country.

20. Another thing about its sacredness was that once the Indians planned to demolish it, and they were sent a dream. 21. Yes. "Don't destroy it!", it said. "If you destroy that hall and pagoda, if you lay a hand on it, you will suffer for it". 22. The dream came three times, they say. 23. And after that the Indians were so afraid, they treated it with great respect – yes: they actually repaired it, people say. 24. That's what I wanted to tell you about.

3. INTHA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Ìn-θà ('lake dwellers') have perhaps achieved greater fame outside Burma in modern times than any of the other Burmese dialect groups. This is due not to any peculiarity of their dialect, but partly to the scenic beauty of the lake, Ìn-lè, on and about which they live, and partly to unusual features of their way of life like their 'floating islands' and their so-called 'leg rowing'.

Ìn-lè Lake is about 14 miles long and some 4 miles wide, and is flanked on either side by ranges of hills. The villages of the Ìn-θà are built on stilts, with some of the houses on shore and some over the water, and, except in the dry season when the water is low, journeys from village to village, and even from house to house, are made by boat.

As well as short paddles wielded from a sitting position the Ìn-θà use long ones, the height of a man and more. The paddler stands on one leg at the stern of his dugout and twists the other leg round the paddle, which enables him to drive the boat over the water with the full force of his leg, back and shoulders. It is a spectacular sight, and achieves high speeds.

The floating islands are made by piling weeds and earth on lengths of floating vegetation and planting crops on top. Plots made in this way can actually be towed from one place to another (for details see Bernot & Bernot 1972).

These curiosities, and the idyllic appearance of the village houses, with their thatched roofs and bamboo-mat or timber walls, the rich monasteries, the fertile land and impressive scenery, have put Ìn-lè high on the list of places for showing to foreign tourists and state visitors. Visitors are no new phenomenon for the Ìn-θà: their famous Hpaung-daw-ù Pagoda has been drawing pilgrims from the rest of the country for many years.

3.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The LSB (Webb 1917:32) records Ìn-θà speakers in the Southern Shan States, mainly at Yawngghwe, Samka, Mong Pai and Mawngang, with further small groups in Karenni and the Salween District, and around Loikaw. This suggests a rather bunched distribution, but my impression was that the Ìn-θà villages were more evenly scattered along the edges of the lake. This is also implied by Tin È (1961:2), who lists some 20 lakeside villages, most of which, if not all, are presumably inhabited by Ìn-θà.

Ìn-θà speakers must have numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 before World War II, as the figures recorded in the censuses (except for 1901) are comparatively uniform:

1931 census:	c. 57,000
1921 census:	c. 55,000
1917 LSB:	c. 61,000
1911 census:	c. 56,000
1901 census:	c. 6,000

The low number for 1901 was perhaps due to inadequate coverage or a badly phrased question. There are no more recent census figures; but Bradley (1994) estimates some 90,000 current speakers.

The physical map of the area shows how the Ìn-θà might easily lose touch with the main body of Burmese speakers: they are cut off from the west by a long north-south range of hills with peaks of over 5,000 feet, towering 4,000 feet above the plains below. Even by modern bus and train the journey up and down the escarpment seems quite a feat. In addition to their geographical isolation, the Ìn-θà are linguistically isolated, as the hills to the west of them are peopled by Taung-thu and Shan, as well as speakers of the related dialects Taun-yò and Dənú (Tin È 1961:61, and see LSB (Webb 1917:19)).

There are some dialect differences within the Ìn-θà area itself. My informants spoke of some lexical differences between the east and the west banks of the lake, and Tin È (1961:72) mentions the influence of neighbouring Shans and visiting Burmese in the north of the lake, as against Pa-o influence in the west, and the effects of an ability to speak SB acquired by Ìn-θà who have occasion to travel outside the area.

Much greater differences characterise the speech of Ke-la, M àing-thauk-ìn, and Kyè-zà-myauk-ywa. Many of the inhabitants of these villages pursue low-prestige occupations such as fishing, pig-breeding and fowl-breeding, and this perhaps keeps them from close contact with the rest of the Ìn-θà. I did pay a visit to Ke-la, with the idea of recording a sample of their sub-dialect, but unfortunately our party chose a time when almost everyone seemed to be busy, and the few poor recordings we did get proved to be so indistinct that they were unintelligible to my Ywa-má informants. This was regrettable, as Tin È (1961:72) suggests that these dialects are the least subject to alien influence.

3.1.2 BACKGROUND

Most speakers of SB now take the name Ìn-lè to mean 'the little lake', and some use the alternative form of the 'little' part of the name, saying Ìn-galè. There is however another interpretation, which takes /lè/ to mean 'four'. According to this view there was an earlier form of the name, Ìn-lè-ywa, 'the four villages of the lake' – the form which is in fact used in a sit-tàn dated 1609 (printed in Zabú-di-pà (sic) ok-hsàung kyàn, ed. J.S. Furnivall and Pe Maung Tin, 1960:40, line 4). I have not seen any earlier occurrence of the name.

The form Ìn-lè-ywa is associated with a legend that the Ìn-θà are descended from Tavoyans who came to the lake and settled there. Û θə-bí-tá's version of the story (1955:95) has the first Tavoyan immigrants, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung, in the service of the saw-bwà of Nyaung-shwe (Yaung-hwe). As Tavoy is disturbed at the time, owing to attacks by the Siamese, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung bring up 36 families of friends and relations who soon multiply and spread, from one initial village, to the four villages of the name.

Another version was recorded by F.H. Giles (quoted in Spearman 1879-1880:566). In this one a prince of Pagan travels around the country in a miraculous barge, bearing on its bows five images of the Buddha. Before returning to Pagan he visits Ìn-lè and leaves there the five images – hence the name of the Hpaung-daw-ù Pagoda: ‘the bows (front) of the royal barge’. Û ò-bí-tá has much the same story, but does not connect it with the Tavoyans: they come into the Giles story as ‘artificers’, taken aboard at an earlier stop in the prince’s travels, and left at Ìn-lè with the Buddha images.

The Tavoyan connection is supported by Taylor (1921:91, and in LSI (Grierson 1.2:29)), but is questioned on linguistic grounds by Mìn Nain (1960:5).

The details of names and numbers given in the legends are impressive, but in the absence of other hard evidence one must fall back on the language: are Ìn-òà and Tavoyan really so close? As in the case of the alleged similarity between Tavoyan and Arakanese, one has to conclude that the differences are more striking than the resemblances. Consider the examples below.

1. TV has a distinction corresponding to that between WB *ut*, *un* and *up*, *um*; but IT, like SB and the other dialects, merges these two pairs of rhymes, so *ut* = *up*, and *un* = *um*.
2. TV merges WB *aññ* with *ai*; IT merges it with *i* and *e*.
3. TV merges WB *ak*, *aŋ* with other rhymes, whereas IT, like AR and YW, keeps them distinct (WB *Y* is a cover symbol for palatal initial):

TV	/i'		a'			in		an/		
WB	<i>ac</i>	<i>Yak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>añ</i>	<i>Yaŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>am</i>
IT	/i'	ɛ'	a'			in	ɛn		an/	

4. IT merges WB *it*, *ip* with *uik*, and WB *uiŋ* with *in*, *im*; but TV keeps these rhymes distinct.
5. IT merges WB *ch* and *s*; but TV keeps them distinct.

It cannot be said, then, that IT and TV resemble each other closely. So how to explain the claims for similarity? The best I can suggest for the present is the preservation in both dialects of medial /-l-/. Sequences like /kl-/ and /pl-/ are quite foreign to speakers of SB and might serve, given no closer inspection, to link the two dialects in the minds of casual observers. Once the idea of their closeness gained currency, the field would be open for speculating on migration and devising explanations for it. Both the Siamese attacks and the miracle barge tour would offer themselves as suitable causes.

In the less speculative present the Ìn-òà are one of the several language groups of the administrative area of Nyaung-shwe, under the Southern Shan States. Scott’s (1906:70) prediction that “it does not seem probable that they will drop out of future census tables” has been fulfilled up to the present, but, like all the Burmese dialect groups, the Ìn-òà are subject to conformist pressures, through travelling outside their dialect area, and receiving into their villages SB-speaking doctors, teachers and administrators. The Ìn-òà I met seemed to accept the differences between their dialect and SB with equanimity, even amusement; but they

were not protective about it, and their speech will no doubt approximate more and more closely to SB as communications improve.

3.1.3 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The material that follows was collected during two delightful visits to Ìn-lè, in 1961 and 1969, each lasting two to three weeks. On both occasions I was based in Ywa-má, a large village (about 640 houses) on the west bank, and made a few visits to their neighbouring villages of Ìn-chan, Ìn-pàw-khon, Ngà-phe-chàung, Nàn-pan, and (briefly) Ke-la.

My chief informants were Û Myín Maun and Û Hlá Phù. Û Myín Maun was born and bred in Ywa-má, and though now resident in Mandalay makes annual visits to his home village. Û Hlá Phù is better known in the lake as Pwè-sà Phù, an ironic name, acquired not because he is a wealthy broker (IT /pwè-sà/), but because he used to make a precarious living by working occasionally at gambling festivals (SB /pwè/). He is a native of Thalè-ù on the east bank, but has lived for many years in Ywa-má.

Pwè-sà Phù can speak a kind of SB with an effort, but normally speaks IT, and is sensitive to small differences between his adopted Ywa-má and his native east bank dialects. He is a lively and engaging talker, and seemed to be welcome company in every home in Ywa-má. It was Pwè-sà Phù who made most of my recordings, which are episodes from Ìn-lè folklore retold to his friends. These recordings, and one or two made by other informants, form the bulk of my material, and were the starting point for further enquiries.

Û Myín Maun acted mainly as interpreter, going over the recordings with me to explain the parts I could not follow, and answering questions about points raised by the text or encountered outside in numerous conversations with his numerous friends and relations – most of whom seemed devoted to conversation and storytelling. Û Myín Maun is a professional musician, with a sensitive ear for speech as well as music, and was very particular about my attempts to identify one sound with another. Pwè-sà Phù also helped with explanations and in providing IT forms for SB words, as did several other friends and neighbours from time to time.

3.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest indebtedness is to Û Myín Maun, who welcomed me into his family and home in 1961 on the strength of a brief note from A. L. Becker, and has been a firm friend ever since, as well as a source of much information about Ìn-θà and music and other aspects of Burmese life.

I would also like to record my gratitude to his wife, Dɔ̌ Khin Me, for her calmness and gentleness, and for appearing unfailingly, just as one began to feel peckish, with delicious things to eat; to Pwè-sà Phù, for his recording and explanations; to Û-lè Phe and Dɔ̌-dɔ̌ Ngwe for housing and feeding me on my second visit; to Ko Sò Maun, of Ìn-chan village, for taking me to his home and to other villages; to Ko θa Nú of Nyaung-shwe and his family for providing food and shelter and even clothing when one passed through; and to Atin Pan-cha, Dɔ̌-dɔ̌ Me, Ko Ci Sò, Ci Ci Myín, and all the other friends and neighbours who were so generous in taking me about to see Ywa-má and meet its people, and in answering my questions about their dialect.

3.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

3.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

3.2.1.1 TONES

high plain	/ḥ/
high creaky	/ḥ̣/
low	/+̣/
high stop	/+̣ʔ/
weak	/ə/

For /ḥ̣/, the ‘ĭn-θà mid’, see §3.2.2.

3.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:	weak				ə			
	full	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u
Closed syllables:	nasal	in	ein	ɛn	an	ɔn	oun	un
	stop	iʔ	aiʔ	ɛʔ	aʔ	ɔʔ	ouʔ	uʔ

3.2.1.3 HEADS

					with medial /y/	with medial /ɪ/	with medial /w/	
k	t	p	c	s	py	kl	pl	Medial /w/ occurs with all
kh	th	ph	ch	sh	phy	khɪ	phɪ	initials except:
ŋ	n	m	ñ		my		ml	/w/itself
								’ (since /‘w/ would be
hŋ	hn	hm	hñ		hmy		hml	equivalent to initial /w-/)
								h (since /hw/ is already listed
(’)	l	w	y	r				among the initials)
h	hl	hw	f					ñ and hñ

3.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

These are as in SB except as set out below:

Tones are on the whole similar to SB tones, but there are differences between the intonation patterns of IT and those of SB, which are of course matched by differences in the realisation of syllable tone, especially at the end of a sentence, and sometimes at the end of a clause. The difference is so marked in the case of a small number of sentence-final and clause-final particles (curiously, not all are so affected), that it proved impossible to assign any of the usual phonemic tones to them.

These particles are therefore marked in the texts and examples with a macron: /ḥ̣/. This is to be understood as representing the pitch and voice-quality features associated with SB /+̣/ or /ḥ̣̣/ (cf. SB sentence-final variations such as in /jɪn-jɪn/, /kwa-kwá/, etc.); also, though perhaps less often, like SB /ḥ̣̣̣/, and sometimes with the held level mid pitch so characteristic of ĭn-θà speech. The particles so marked are IT /wā (wṣ), mā (mṣ), shṣ, lṣ, lḗ/.

The situation regarding rhymes is:

/e, ε, ɔ, o/: all usually closer than the corresponding vowels in SB

/ein/: starts from a rather closer /e/ than SB /ein/

/ɛn/: same vowel quality as SB and IT /ɛ'/

/ɔ', ɔn/: vowel more open than SB open syllable /ɔ/, approaching [ɒ]

/u', un/: vowel more open than in SB, and often with closer lip-rounding at the start than at the finish, almost [ʊo], [ʊon]

/ai'/: starts from a rather closer /a/ than SB /ai'/'

Heads

/-l-/: medial realised as a lateral [l] or flapped apical [ɾ]; not in SB.

3.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (FIGURES REFER TO NOTES IN §3.3.1 BELOW)

3.2.3.1 TONES

These are as for SB, but see §3.2.2.

3.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables

WB	i	e	ai	a	o	ui	u	-
IT	i	e	ɛ	a	ɔ	o	u	ə/
		11				10		

Closed nasal syllables

WB	in	im	aññ	añ	an	am	wan	wam	aŋ	oŋ	uiŋ	un	um
IT	/ein			in	an		un		ɛn	ɔn		oun/	
			1		2		2		3		4		

Closed stop syllables

WB	it	ip	ac	at	ap	wat	wap	ak	ok	uik	ut	up
IT	/ai'		i'	a'		u'		ɛ'	ɔ'		ou'/'	
				2		2				5		

3.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

there are no voiced initials (SB /g d b j z ð/); also

WB	ch ⁶ s	ky ⁸ kr	khy ⁸ khr ⁷	hy hr ⁷
IT	/sh	kl c	khl ch j	j ch/
SB	/sh θ	c	ch	j/

WB	py ⁹ pr	phy ⁹ phr	my ⁹ mr	hmy ⁹ hmr
IT	/py pl	phy phl	my ml	hmy hml/
SB	/py	phy	my	hmy/

3.3 NOTES

3.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) WB *aññ*, which gives SB /i/ or /e/ or /ɛ/, corresponds generally with IT /i/ if the initial is palatal, and with IT /e/ otherwise. The full list of words checked is given below.

WB	IT	SB	
<i>kraññ</i> .	/cí/	/cí/	look
<i>kraññ</i>	/ci/	/ci/	be clear
<i>khraññ</i>	/chi/	/chi/	thread
<i>caññ</i>	/si/	/si/	drum
<i>caññ</i>	/si/	/si/	be crowded
<i>caññ:</i>	/sì/	/sì/	bind
<i>chaññ</i>	/shi/	/she/	dam
<i>chaññ:</i>	/shì/	/shì/	collect
<i>ñaññ:</i>	/ñi/	/ñi/	grumble
<i>taññ</i>	/te/	/ti/	be stable
<i>taññ:</i>	/tè/	/tè/	stay
<i>thaññ</i>	/the/	/the/	cloth
<i>praññ</i>	/ple/	/pye/	pus
<i>praññ</i>	/ple/	/pyi/	pyi (measure)
<i>phraññ</i> .	/phlé/	/phyé/	fill
<i>praññ</i> .	/plé/	/pyé/	be full
<i>maññ</i>	/me/	/myi/	name
<i>hmaññ</i> .	/hmé, hmí/	/hmé/	be ripe
<i>maññ:</i>	/mè/	/mè/	be black
<i>hlaññ</i> .	/hlé/	/hlé/	turn
<i>laññ</i>	/le/	/le/	go round
<i>hlaññ:</i>	/hlè/	/hlè/	cart
<i>taññ</i> .	/té/	/té/	be straight
<i>eññ.saññ</i>	/é-she/	/é-ðe/	visitor

There were some exceptions to this correspondence. First, some words had IT /-i/ without a palatal initial:

<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nì/	method
<i>wi-naññ:</i>	/wí-nì/	/wí-nì/	Vinaya
<i>-taññ:</i>	/-tì/	/-thè/	only
<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nè/	be little
<i>laññ</i>	/li, le/	/lè/	go round

The first two in this list, which are loans from Pali, could perhaps be SB pronunciations. The form for 'only' is not clear-cut: it has possible connections with another form, WB *athī:thī:*, 'alone' so there may be some kind of conflation here. The remaining two forms, which are at variance with SB, are so far inexplicable.

Secondly, a few words have IT /ɛ/:

<i>naññ</i>	/nɛ/	/nɛ/	dregs
<i>mraññ:</i>	/mlè, mlè/	/myì/	taste
<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/man-kè, -cì/	/mǎjì/	tamarind

There is no obvious way of accounting for these, except perhaps /nɛ/, which could be an SB loan pronunciation.

Three forms have nasal finals:

<i>saññ:</i>	/shèn/	/θè/	nail
<i>laññ:</i>	/lèin/	/lè/	fall
<i>hlaññ:</i>	/hlèin/	/hlè/	fell

Some of the other dialects have forms for WB *aññ* which suggest a variant in WB *añ*, but the IT reflexes here would require WB *aŋ* (for 'nail'), and WB *in*, *im* or *uiŋ* (for 'fall').

There is one final form worth noting:

<i>hmai.</i>	/hmé/	/hmé/	mole
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The WB spelling above is MSTK's. Judson has *hmaññ*, which the IT reflex supports, suggesting that MSTK is wrong in this case.

(2) As in SB, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* merge in IT to give /an/ and /a'/ (or /un/ and /u'/ if preceded by *w*). For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>mran</i>	/mlan/	/myan/	be fast
<i>khyam:</i>	/fàn/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>mrat</i>	/mla'/	/mya'/	be noble
<i>khyap</i>	/f'a'/	/cha'/	flat object
<i>prwan</i>	/pyun/	/pyun/	pipe
<i>hrwam.</i>	/chún/	/fún/	mud
<i>prwat</i>	/plu'/	/pyu'/	cluster

(3) WB *aŋ* corresponds to IT /ɛn/, matching WB *ak* = IT /ɛ'/, unlike SB, which merges the nasal rhyme with WB *añ* to SB /in/:

<i>khyañ</i>	/chin/	/chin/	be acid
<i>khyañ</i>	/jen/	/chin/	want to

<i>khyac</i>	/ji'/	/chi'/	love
<i>khyak</i>	/jɛ'/	/chɛ'/	cook

(4) All the dialects considered in these notes – Arakanese, Tavoyan and SB as well as Intha – merge WB *in* and *im*, but IT, curiously, adds WB *uiŋ* to this merger:

<i>tim</i>	/tein/	/tein/	be shallow
<i>thin:</i>	/thèn/	/thèin/	control
<i>tuŋ</i>	/tein/	/tain/	post
<i>thuŋ</i>	/thein/	/thain/	sit

See further the remarks under note (5) below.

(5) IT matches the nasal rhyme merger of WB *in*, *im*, and *uiŋ* by merging WB *it*, *ip*, and *uik*, but in this case has the rhyme that corresponds in SB to the last of the three, not, as in the case of the nasals, the rhyme corresponding to the first two:

<i>tit</i>	/tai'/	/tei'/	be quiet
<i>thip</i>	/thai'/	/thei'/	top
<i>tuik</i>	/tai'/	/tai'/	bump
<i>kuik</i>	/kai'/	/kai'/	bite

There are some irregularities in connection with this merger and that of note (4) above which are perhaps worth noting. The correspondences presented here are:

WB	<i>uik</i>	<i>it-ip</i>	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>in-im</i>
SB	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ei'</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>ein</i>
IT	<i>ai'</i>	= <i>ai'</i>	<i>ein</i>	= <i>ein</i>

However, this picture is not completely confirmed by the findings of other observers, which are as follows:

IT Taylor	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>ein</i>
IT Jones	<i>ai'</i>	(<i>ei'</i>)	[both]	<i>ein</i>
IT Ono	[both]	[both]	<i>ein</i>	[both]
IT Tin È	(<i>ei'</i>)	(<i>ei'</i>)	<i>ein</i>	<i>ein</i>

'Both' here means that both possibilities are reported, that is both /ai'/ and /ei'/, or both /ain/ and /ein/. Brackets show rhymes that differ from my material.

It will be seen that Jones and Ono between them found 'both' for the reflexes of all four SB rhymes. This is quite plausibly attributable to SB influence in the case of columns 2 and 3, and to hypercorrection in columns 1 and 4; cf. the hypercorrect IT /ch/ for SB /ʃ/ = WB *hr*, *hy*, *hly*; see (7) below. My informants too used occasional SB or hyper-SB pronunciations in conversation.

Tin È's consistent /ei'/ however may indicate that his IT is a different sub-dialect from the others. His representation of (Jones's and my) IT /ɛ', wɛ'/ as (his) IT /a', wa'/ points in the same direction. This sub-dialect is perhaps partly reflected in my own data: when going through a list of words in these rhymes, informants were unanimous about IT /ein/ for the nasal rhymes, but one informant offered IT /ei'/ as an alternative for a few of the stop rhymes of both column 1 and column 2.

It seems then that, with the variants provided by SB, hyper-SB, and (at least) two sub-dialects of IT, either diphthong may be expected in any of the four columns above. It only

remains to add that there were also half-way pronunciations, around [æɪʔ] and [æɪ], in order to complete the picture of IT's effective loss of contrast between the two stop rhymes of SB and between its two nasal rhymes.

(6) One of the most striking features of IT is its merger of WB *ch* and *s* in IT /sh/:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>sū</i>	/shu/	/θu/	he
<i>sarak-sī:</i>	/shəre'shì/	/θəyε'θì/	mango

Some observers have been tempted to see this as a preservation of an older value of WB *s*, the reflex of which in other dialects is /θ/.

Against this view is (a) the fact that the supposed IT reflex of WB *s* is aspirate: one would expect IT /s/ rather than IT /sh/; and (b) the fact that all the chain shift that affects the other dialects has taken place in IT except, on this hypothesis, one link:

WB	<i>ky</i>	<i>khy</i>			
	<i>kr</i>	<i>khr</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>s</i>
SB, AR, TV, YW	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>θ</i>
IT	<i>kl</i>	(/)		<i>sh</i>	
	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>s</i>		

A more likely explanation for this correspondence lies in the contact IT has had with Shan. Geographically the ĩn-θà are surrounded by Shan speakers, and the Shan loanwords in IT are evidence of language contact. Shan has no /θ/, and there are indications of a correspondence in loanwords between Shan /sh/ and SB /θ/: for example the placenames Hsen-wi = SB /θein-ni/, Hsi-paw = SB /θi-bò/, and the symbol used for WB *s* which represents /sh/ in the Shan alphabet and /θ/ in SB (see Egerod 1957:125).

It seems likely then that IT once had /θ/ for WB *s*, like the other dialects, and that it changed to /sh/ under Shan influence, thereby merging with the IT reflex for WB *ch*. This history avoids both the aspiration problem and the chain-shift problem.

(7) SB distinguishes /ʃ/, which is a merger of WB *hr*, *hy*, and *hly*, from /ch/, which is a merger of WB *khy* and *khr*.

This distinction appears not to be maintained in IT. Both initials are used, and though they seem not to be in free variation for all forms, there are some forms that have IT /ch/ for one informant and IT /ʃ/ for another, and sometimes the same speaker will offer both alternatives for a single form. In the latter case the pronunciation with IT /ch/ was said to be more vivid or emphatic than that with IT /ʃ/. There appears to be no correspondence between the incidence of IT /ch/ vs /ʃ/ and the OB antecedents of the forms concerned (see note (8) below).

OB	WB	IT	SB	
-	<i>hyañ</i>	/ʃin/	/ʃin/	compare
-	<i>hra</i>	/chá/	/ʃá/	graze
-	<i>hre.</i>	/ʃé/	/ʃé/	front

<i>syā</i>	<i>hrā:</i>	/ʃà, chà/	/ʃà/	be scarce
-	<i>hlyo</i>	/chò/	/ʃò/	slide
-	<i>hlyo.</i>	/ʃó, chó/	/ʃó/	reduce
<i>khyam</i>	<i>khyam:</i>	/ʃàn, chà/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>khyak</i>	<i>khyak</i>	/ʃɛ', chɛ'/	/chɛ'/	cook
<i>khrok</i>	<i>khrok</i>	/ʃɔ', chɔ'/	/chau'/	six
<i>khruy</i>	<i>khwe:</i>	/chwè/	/chwè/	sweat
<i>khrum</i>	<i>khrum</i>	/ʃoun/	/choun/	bush
<i>khlup</i>	<i>khyup</i>	/ʃou', chou'/	/chou'/	restrict
<i>khluw</i>	<i>khyui:</i>	/ʃò/	/chò/	wash
<i>khloŋ</i>	<i>khyoŋ:</i>	/chòn/	/chàun/	stream

It seems likely that in the case of the WB velar clusters IT speakers have been moving from the /ch/ pronunciation to /ʃ/. This is suggested by the observation that in several cases the earlier records (Grierson, Taylor, Shafer) show a /ch/ where more recent records (Jones and myself) have /ʃ/, while in no case is the reverse true, that is there is no case where a /ʃ/ recorded earlier is later recorded as /ch/. With increasing contact with SB, however, IT is now perhaps under pressure to reverse the move from /ch/ to /ʃ/. It could be this that accounts for the hypercorrect /ch/ in words with WB *hr*, *hy* and *hly*.

(8) IT differs from SB in having a medial /-l-/ and /-r-/. They do not however contrast with each other: informants said (and this was to some extent confirmed by observation) that the /-r-/ allophone is used for greater strength and vividness, and so is more common in male than in female speech. In the examples below both [-r-] and [-l-] are transcribed /-l-/.

Regularly IT /kl/ and /khl/ correspond with WB *ky* and *khy*, but the position is complicated by a factor extending back in history beyond WB: OB had three velar clusters, *kr*, *ky* and *kl*, and the corresponding aspirates *khṛ*, *khy* and *khl*. IT merges the first pair of these three, while WB merges the second pair:

IT	<i>c</i>		<i>kl</i>		<i>ch-f</i>		<i>khl</i>
OB	<i>kr</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>kl</i>		<i>khṛ</i>	<i>khy</i>	<i>khl</i>
WB	<i>kr</i>	<i>ky</i>			<i>khṛ</i>	<i>khy</i>	
SB	<i>c</i>				<i>ch</i>		

There are however cases in which forms for which IT /kl, khl/ is expected are found to have IT /c, ch~ʃ/. This is presumably an effect of contact with SB speakers. The following sets illustrate these correspondences.

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>krak</i>	<i>krak</i>	/cɛ'/	/cɛ'/	fowl
<i>khraññ</i>	<i>khraññ</i>	/chi/	/chi/	thread
<i>kyak</i>	<i>kyak</i>	/cɛ'/	/cɛ'/	be cooked
<i>khyat</i>	<i>khyac</i>	/chi', ʃi'/	/chi'/	love
<i>kḷī</i>	<i>kyī:</i>	/kḷi/	/cì/	crow
<i>khliy</i>	<i>khye:</i>	/khlì/	/chì/	dung
<i>kluiw</i>	<i>kyui:</i>	/cò/	/cò/	outcome
<i>khloŋ</i>	<i>khyoŋ:</i>	/chòn/	/chàun/	stream

IT also has a number of exceptions to these correspondences:

(a) In some cases there is an unexpected IT /-l-/:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>kriy</i>	<i>kre</i>	/kle, ce/	/ce/	be crumbled
<i>krā</i>	<i>krā:</i>	/klà/	/cà/	between
<i>khrun</i>	<i>khyun:</i> (sic)	/khlòun/	/chòun/	thunder
-	<i>khrok</i>	/khlò'/	/chau'/	frighten
(cf. <i>krok</i>)	<i>krok</i>	/cò'/	/cau'/	be frightened)
-	<i>kruig</i>	/klein/	/cain/	be fragrant
<i>kyan</i>	<i>kyan</i>	/klan/	/can/	be left out
-	<i>khyan</i>	/khlán/	/chan/	leave out

Some of these anomalous /-l-/s are matched in TV, which adds a few more cases of its own. No explanation is at present available.

(b) In five cases IT has a simple velar with various OB antecedents:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>man-klaññ</i>	<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/man-kè/	/məj/	tamarind
<i>klwai</i>	<i>kywai</i>	/kwè, cwè/	/cwè/	water buffalo
<i>khwat</i>	<i>khywat</i>	/khwu'/	/chu'/	take off
<i>khiy</i>	<i>khye:</i>	/khè/	/chì/	lend
<i>khriy</i>	<i>khre</i>	/khe/	/che, chi/	foot

The first two of these forms are probably loans: for IT /kwè/ see Shan /kwai/, Thai /khwaaj/ 'water buffalo', and Karen /gwé/ (from Luce n.d., and see Matisoff 1969:196). The IT forms for 'take off' and 'be taken off' have an unparalleled IT /-wu-/, but my record is confirmed by Jones's /khwu'/. IT's simple velar in /khè/ 'lend' is paralleled by plain velars in TV in forms corresponding to OB words in *ki*, *khi*. IT /khe/ 'foot' is matched in TV, but what happened to the -r- is a mystery.

(9) IT /-l-/ after initial IT /p, ph, m, hm/ matches IT /-l-/ after initial /k, kh/ in that it has the same two allophones [-l-] and [-r-], which are contrastive stylistically but not phonemically (note (8) above). Again as in the case of the velar clusters, OB has three clusters with labials, but here IT has the same merger as WB. In the chart P is used as a cover symbol for orthographic *p*, *ph*, *m*, *mh* and phonemic /p, ph, m, hm/.

IT	<i>Pl</i> or <i>Py</i>		<i>Py</i>
OB	<i>Pl</i>	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Py</i>
WB	<i>Pr</i>		<i>Py</i>
SB	<i>Py</i>		

Examples:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>plaññ</i>	<i>praññ.</i>	/plé/	/pyé/	be full
<i>mliy</i>	<i>mre</i>	/mle/	/mye/	earth
<i>phrat</i>	<i>phrat</i>	/phla'/	/phya'/	cut

<i>mraññ</i>	<i>mraññ:</i>	/mlè, mlè/	/myì/	taste
<i>pyañ</i>	<i>pyañ</i>	/pyin/	/pyin/	timber
<i>myak</i>	<i>myak</i>	/myɛ'/	/myɛ'/	eye

As in the case of the K clusters, the data contain some pronunciations that presumably stem from SB, with IT /Py/=OB Pl. For example:

<i>aplac</i>	<i>aprac</i>	/əpyi'/	/əpyi'/	fault
<i>mlyuiw</i>	<i>myui:</i>	/myò/	/myò/	kind
<i>phriy</i>	<i>phre</i>	/phye, phyi/	/phye/	undo
<i>mraŋ</i>	<i>mraŋ</i>	/myɛn/	/myin/	see

In the following sets IT has neither /-l-/ nor /-y-/ and these pronunciations too can be attributed to SB contact:

<i>prī</i>	<i>prī:</i>	/pì/	/pì/	finish
-	<i>hmre:</i>	/hmè/	/hmè/	film

More serious are the exceptions in which IT has /Pl/ for OB-WB Py:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>pyam</i>	<i>pyam</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	fly
<i>myok</i>	<i>myok</i>	/mlɔ'/	/myau'/	monkey
-	<i>pyā</i>	/pla/	/pya/	be in a hurry

The IT /-l-/ in /plan/ 'fly' is supported by TV /plan/, which makes it difficult to attribute this form to misrecording or informant confusion.

(10) In three forms occurring in my material, but not in every occurrence of them, the open-syllable vowel IT /o/ sounded identical with open-syllable IT /ɔ/. This was confirmed by one informant, who said that the /ɔ/ of the /ɔ~o/ variants rhymed with other forms in unvarying /ɔ/. The forms are:

IT	SB	
/tó, tó/	/tó/	(noun plural suffix)
/ló, ló/	/ló/	because, (quoted)
/phó, phó/	/phó/	for, to

Unfortunately the material is not sufficient to determine how far this variation extends. It may be limited, for example, to grammatical suffixes, or to creaky-tone syllables.

(11) The material also points to a corresponding feature on the front side of the vowel triangle. This again is limited to certain forms, but it is a matter of merging, not of variation: open-syllable IT /ɛ/, in some words and some utterances, is given the same pronunciation as open-syllable IT /e/. One informant distinguished the following:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>che:</i>	/shè/	/shè/	wash
<i>chai</i>	/shè/	/shè/	abuse

but merged these pairs:

<i>we:</i>	/wè/	/wè/	be distant
<i>wai</i>	/wè/	/wè/	have an accent
<i>kre</i>	/ce/	/ce/	be crumbled
<i>kray</i>	/ce/	/ce/	star

(12) IT /r/ for SB /y/ is found in a few words where it follows a weak syllable:

<i>tarā:</i>	/tərà/	/təyà/	law
<i>sā:re</i>	/shəre/	/θəye/	leather
<i>charā</i>	/shəra/	/shəya/	teacher
<i>phurā</i>	/phərà/	/phəyà/	lord
<i>bhuran</i>	/phəren/	/bəyin/	king
<i>sarak</i>	/shəre'/	/θəye'/	mango
<i>pharai</i>	/phəre/	/phəyè/	watermelon

IT /r/ occurred initially in only one word in my material:

<i>ruik</i>	/rai'/	/yai'/	strike
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(13) IT has aspirate nasals corresponding to plain nasals in WB and SB in a few forms:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>me:</i>	/hmè/	/mè/	ask
<i>myañ:</i>	/hmyìn/	/myìn/	line
<i>mrwe</i>	/hmwe/	/mwe/	snake
<i>anan.</i>	/əhnán/	/ənán/	smell
<i>nwā:</i>	/hnwà/	/nwà/	cow
<i>mrak</i>	/hmye'/	/mye'/	grass
<i>amrī:</i>	/əhmì/	/əmì/	tail

There are also, surprisingly, some forms with aspirate obstruent initials corresponding to plain obstruents in WB and SB:

<i>krō</i>	/chɔ, ʃɔ/	/cɔ/	fry
<i>krai</i>	/chē/	/cē/	scatter
<i>kywat</i>	/chu'/	/cu'/	be brittle
<i>tīm</i>	/thein/	/tein/	cloud
<i>koŋ:kaŋ</i>	/khòŋ-kɔŋ/ (sic)	/kàun-gin/	sky
<i>pun:</i>	/phòun/	/pòun/	hide

(14) For some forms, apparently, WB *rw* = IT /w/: the material has only two examples of this correspondence:

<i>rwā</i>	/wa/	/ywa/	rain, village
<i>nā:rwak</i> (but cf.)	/nà-we'/	/nəywe'/	ear
<i>rwak-hle</i>	/ywe'hle/	/ywe'hle/	sailing boat

3.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing does not occur in IT, even for plain initials:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>co-co</i>	/sò-sò/	/sò-zò/	early
<i>laŋ:kḥā</i>	/lèn-kha/	/lìn-ga/	daybreak

The absence of voiced consonants also extends of course to Pali loans, written with voiced consonants in WB and so pronounced in SB. For example:

<i>Sam-ghā</i>	/shan-kha/	/than-ga/	Sangha
<i>kyam:gan</i>	/càn-kan/	/càn-gan/	treatise
<i>dhāt-tō</i>	/tha'tō/	/da'tō/	relic
<i>Buddha</i>	/Pou'thá/	/Bou'dá/	Buddha
<i>do-sa</i>	/tò-shá/	/dò-ḏá/	anger
<i>bhā-sā</i>	/pha-sha/	/ba-ḏa/	religion
<i>jō-gyī</i>	/sō-ci/	/zō-ji/	magician
<i>jhān</i>	/san/ (sic)	/zan/	trance

In the same way, words for which SB has voiced initials have no voice in IT. For example:

<i>khoŋ:</i>	/khòŋ/	/gàun/	head
<i>khai</i>	/khè/	/gè/	stone
<i>gwam:</i>	/kùn/	/gùn/	cotton
<i>gui:</i>	/kò/	/gò/	goal
<i>dhā:</i>	/thà/	/dà/	knife
<i>doŋ:</i>	/tòn/	/dàun/	peacock
<i>dut</i>	/tou'/	/dou'/	stick
<i>buik</i>	/phai'/	/bai'/	belly
<i>boŋ:bī</i>	/pòn-phi/	/bàun-bi/	trousers
<i>bhī:</i>	/pèin/	/bèin/	wheel
<i>bhin:</i>	/phèin/	/bèin/	opium
<i>Bamā</i>	/Phəma/	/Bəma/	Burmese
<i>bhaŋ</i>	/phan/	/ban/	bank
<i>Bi-lat</i>	/Phí-la'/	/Bí-la'/	England
<i>khye:</i>	/khlè/	/jì/	dirt
<i>khyit</i>	/chai'/	/jei'/	hook
<i>gyac</i>	/ci'/	/ji'/	jeep
<i>khyuiŋ</i>	/chéin/	/jáin/	pot-hole
<i>jhe:</i>	/shè/	/zè/	market
<i>chī:sī:</i>	/shì-shì/	/zì-ḏì/	wild plum
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/təthà/	/tədà/	bridge
<i>laññ-pan:</i>	/le-phèn/	/lɛ-bìn/	neck
<i>tapak</i>	/tɔn-pɛ'/	/təpɛ'/	scarf
<i>bū:</i>	/phù/	/bù/	gourd
<i>wam:pai</i>	/ɔn-pè/	/wùn-bè/	duck
<i>san:khoŋ</i>	/shəkɔn/	/θəgaun/	midnight
<i>Tan-khū:</i>	/Təkù/	/Təgù/	Təgù (month)

It is tempting to suppose that IT is a more reliable source than WB for evidence that certain words had aspirate or plain initials at some stage before SB developed voicing (assuming that SB voicing is a later development). IT evidence however should be used with caution. Some of the plain initials may well be approximations to modern SB voiced initials by a dialect deficient in voiced initials: compare IT /ci'/ for SB /ji'/ 'jeep'; and some of the aspirates could be due to the IT tendency to aspirate initials that are plain in all other dialects, for example IT /thein/ for SB /tein/ 'cloud': see note (13) above.

3.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening occurs in IT much as in SB, though there are indications that it is less used. For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>nā:rwak</i>	/nà-wɛ'/	/nəywe'/	ear
<i>sa-nap-khā:</i>	/shəne'khà/	/θənəkhà/	sandalwood
<i>cha-nwan:</i>	/shi-hnwèn/	/shənwìn/	turmeric
<i>hnac-thoŋ</i>	/hni-thɔn/	/hnəthaun/	two thousand
<i>se-nat</i>	/shi-na'/	/θəna'/	gun
<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/man-kè/	/məjì/	tamarind
<i>tam-khā:</i>	/tan-khà/	/təgà/	door
<i>wā:lum:</i>	/wà-loùn/	/wəlòun/	bamboo pole

In a few words the weak vowel has apparently been dropped, leaving a fusion of the initials on either side of it:

<i>kha-ram:</i>	/chàn/	/khəyàn/	aubergine
<i>re-kara:</i>	/ye-cà/	/ye-kəyà/	kettle
<i>sam-pa-rā:</i>	/shan-pya/	/θan-bəya/	lime
<i>khre-pha-wā:</i>	/khe-phwà/	/chi-phəwà/	sole

And in other words the entire weak syllable is omitted:

<i>tha-maŋ:</i>	/mèn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice
<i>sa-khwā:</i>	/khwà/	/θəkhwà/	cucumber
<i>ca-pā:</i>	/pà/	/səbà/	paddy
<i>ŋā:pi</i>	/pí/	/ŋəpí/	fish paste
<i>kyoŋ:a-ma</i>	/còn-má/	/càun-əmə/	monastery-supporter (female)
<i>kyoŋ:da-kā</i>	/còn-ka/	/càun-dəga/	monastery-supporter (male)
<i>lak-sa-mā:</i>	/lə'-mà/	/lə'-θəmə/	carpenter
<i>pu-cwan-chit</i>	/sun-shai'/	/pəzun-zei'/	shrimp

3.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs as in SB. For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>sū-hā</i>	/shu-a/	/θu-ha/	she (subject)
<i>sū.pha</i>	/shú-phá/	/θú-əphe/	her father

3.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following syntactic markers differ from SB. For details of the abbreviations, see the foreword to this paper. Numbers following examples indicate the text and sentence in §3.4 from which they are taken. The abbreviation 'inf' indicates examples offered by informants or encountered in conversation.

(1) /a/ see /ha/ verb-sentence marker for attribute

(2) /a/ verb-sentence marker and special head noun = SB /ta/

IT /yu-tɛ'-a/ 1.17
 SB /yu-tɛ'-ta/
 take-ascend-VSMK
 (He) took (it) up.

IT /la-hmè-a/ 1.25
 SB /la-mè-da/
 come-ask-VSMK
 (He) came and asked.

(3) /à/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà/, /thà/

IT /thò-thé-à-a/ 2.19
 SB /thò-thé-thà-da/
 spear-put.in-place-VSMK
 what (they) had caught and landed

IT /klɔ'-khənè mi-à-ɛ/ 1.31
 SB /kəlau'khənè myi-θwà-dɛ/
 clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK
 (It) went clonk.

(4) /à/ see /là/ sentence-final postposition

(5) /còn/ subordinate marker with sentences for complement = SB /ló/ with (stated or understood) /sìn-zà-ne-dɛ/ and so on.

IT /ca-ʃɛn ca-mɛ-còn/ inf
 SB /ca-jinyin ca-mɛ-ló/
 last-want last-VSMK-QUO
 (I was thinking) it could take a long time.

(6) /ɛ/ see /tɛ/

(7) /ha/ or /a/ verb-sentence marker attribute = SB /té/

IT /còn-pó-a poun/ 1.6
 SB /càun-pó-dé poun/
 monastery-send-REL story
 story about sending to the monastery

IT /la-a lu/ inf
 SB /la-dé lu/
 come-REL person
 the man who came

(8) /kha/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tó, té-əkha/

IT	/maná	cì-lùn-kha,	shu-a	hèn-khlò-chen-ε/ 1.14
SB	/ma-ná	cì-lùn-dó,	θu-ha	èda-chò-jin-dε/
		arrogance	be.great-excess-time	he-SUBJ that-break-want-VSMK
		As (she) was so arrogant (he) wanted to bring (it) down.		

(9) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

IT	/thà-khá-kha/
SB	/thà-gé-dó/
	leave-there-as
	leaving (him) behind

(10) /khànàn/ special head noun = SB /səya/ (cf. SB /verb-phənàn/)

IT	/ʃε'-khànàn-wā/ inf
SB	/ʃε'-səya-jì/
	be.shameful-thing-EMP
	How humiliating!
IT	/chi'-khànàn kòn-ε/ inf
SB	/chi'-səya kàun-dε/
	love-thing be.good-VSMK
	(She) is charming.

(11) /khè/ auxiliary noun = SB /tó/

IT	/è lu-khè/ inf
SB	/hé lu-dó/
	hey person-PL
	Hi you lot!
IT	/shan-pou'ti-khè klikàn-khè/ inf
SB	/sa-gələ-dó cìgàn-dó/
	sparrow-small-PL crow-PL
	sparrows and crows and so on

(12) /khèn/ special head noun = SB /səya/ (cf. WB *khaŋ*.)

IT	/shwà-khèn ʃí-ù/ inf
SB	/θwà-zəya mə-ʃí-bù/
	go-thing be-VSMK
	(I) don't have to go anywhere.

(13) /khlè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /chì/

IT	/tha lou'-ta-khlè/ inf
SB	/da lou'-ta-jì/
	that do-VSMK-only
	(He) does nothing but that.

(14) /hmàn/ ?noun = SB /ba-hmá, əcàun/

IT	/hmàn shí-ù/ inf
SB	/ba-hmá mə-θí-bù/
	something know-VSMK
	(You) don't understand at all.

IT	/ŋa nì-nì hmàn shí-ε/ inf
SB	/ŋa nè-nè di-əcàun θí-dε/
	I little something know-VSMK
	I know a little bit about this.

(15) /shəmə/ special head noun = SB /θəmə/ but used more freely

IT	/le'-wà kù-shəmə/ 2.19
SB	/le'-wà cì-θəmə/
	hand-palm be.big-person
	man with big hands
IT	/yɔ'-phù-shəmə/ inf
SB	/yau'phù-θəmə/
	reach-ever-person
	person who has been there before
IT	/pai'shan thé-shəmə/ inf
SB	/pai'shan thé-θəmə/
	money put.in-person
	person who donates (to a beggar)

(16) /shō/ sentence-final postposition = SB /pó, phè/, also frequent with /wā/ and weakened to /shəwā/ = SB /pó, phè, kò/

IT	/èinmá-pyo le-ε-shō/ 1.13
SB	/mèinmá-byo le-dε-bó/
	girl-maid visit-VSMK-EMP
	(They) used to go courting.
IT	/thá-òun-mā thò-lai'-shō/ 1.29
SB	/thá-pì-dó thò-lai'-kò/
	rise-further-when strike-through-EMP
	(He) upped and hit him.
IT	/mè-mè-wá-wá-ù shəwā/ 1.16
SB	/mè-mè-wá-wá-jì-bó/
	black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP
	(It) was big and black.
IT	/jì-mε-shəwā/ inf
SB	/jì-mε-bó/
	be-will-EMP
	(He)'ll be there.

(17) /ɿ/ sentence-final postposition = SB /phè/

IT	/wε-la-tε-ì/ inf
SB	/wε-la-da-bè/
	buy-come-VSMK-EMP
	Indeed (I) bought (it).
IT	/ətutu-ì/ inf
SB	/ətudu-bè/
	same-EMP
	(It)'s just the same.

IT /mə-ʃí-ù-ì/ inf
 SB /mə-ʃí-bù-bè/
 not-be-VSMK-EMP
 There isn't any at all.

(18) /kəŋ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB (repetition), /ló/

IT /mlan-kəŋ shwè-ɛ/ inf
 SB /myan-myan shwè-dɛ/
 be.quick-ADV pull-VSMK
 (He) pulled (it) quickly.

IT /yɛ-kəŋ yá - təkha-ì/ inf
 SB /θei' yi-yá-dɛ - təkha-dɛ/
 laugh-ADV get one-time-only
 It was such a laugh.

(19) /kà/ ?subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tòun, shè/

IT /mèn sà-ne-kà/ inf
 SB /thəmìn sà-ne-dòun/
 rice eat-be-still
 (I)'m still eating.

(20) /là/ often /à/ sentence-final postposition = SB /là, lè/

IT /ŋá-shə̀mì-nà la-le-là/ 1.26
 SB /ŋá-θə̀mì-shi la-lɛ-da-là/
 my-daughter-near come-visit-Q
 Have you come to court my daughter?

IT /phə̀shu-à/ inf
 SB /bə̀ðu-lè/
 who-Q
 who?

IT /phɛ-kha yɔ'-à/ inf
 SB /bɛ-dòungá yau'thəlè/
 which-time arrive-Q
 When did (you) arrive?

(21) /lɛ̃/ sentence-final postposition = SB /le/

IT /ə̀yɛn-tòuná-lɛ̃/ 1.11
 SB /ə̀yin-dòungá-le/
 former-while-you.know
 I mean in the old days

IT /cən-pó-a poun-lɛ̃/ 1.11
 SB /càun-pó-dé poun-le/
 monastery-send-REL story-you.know
 you know, the story about sending to the monastery

(22) /lè/ ?subordinate marker with noun for complement or attribute = SB /lo/

- IT /hèn-lè/ 1.23
 SB /èdi-lo/
 that-like
 in that way
- IT /phə-lè-myò/ 1.44
 SB /bɛ-lo-myò/
 what-like-kind
 In what way?

(23) /lɛ'/ unclassified particle = SB /tɛ/. This particle was overheard in conversation, but the examples were not noted.

(24) /lè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /phè/

- IT /to-to-né-lè/ 1.7
 SB /to-do-né-bè/
 short-ADV-with-EMP
 nice and short
- IT /you' tə-myò pyòn-à-lè/ inf
 SB /əyou' tə-myò pyàun-ǝwà-bi-bè/
 looks one-kind change-go-EMP
 How different (you) look!
- IT /khɛ'-ne-ǝ-lè/ 1.35
 SB /khɛ'-θwà-bi-bè/
 be.difficult-be-go-EMP
 Now we're in trouble.

(25) /lō/ appended appellative = SB /kwa, bya/

- IT /Yè-lō/ 1.44
 SB /Hé-kwa/
 Hey-man
 Hi there.
- IT /hmàn shí-shè-ù-lō/ 1.5
 SB /ba-hmàn mə-θí-ǝ-bù-bya/
 something know-yet-VSMK-man
 (You) don't know yet.

(26) /lɔ́/ sometimes /ló/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /ló/, also with quotation = SB /ló/

- IT /hmè-lɔ́ mə-pyǝ-pè-ha/ 1.22
 SB /mè-ló mə-pyǝ-bè-ha/
 ask-ing not-speak-without-thing
 not replying to questions
- IT /sa lou'-lɔ́/ 2.23
 SB /ba lou'-θəlɛ-ló/
 what do-QUO
 (I wonder) what (he) did.

- IT /wùn-sha-ló-kò/ inf
 SB /wùn-sha-ló-gò/
 stomach-be.hungry-ing-what
 And what if (I) am hungry?

(27) /loun/ ?sentence-final postposition = SB /pa-gələ, phè, pó, kò/

- IT /kù-ló-loun/ inf
 SB /tɛ cì-ba-gələ/
 be.big-ing-EXCL
 how enormous

- IT /hèn-mō-loun/ 2.16
 SB /èda-pìdó-gò/
 that-then-what
 What then?

- IT /khú yɔ'-la-wəloun/ inf
 SB /gú-bè yau'-la-bi-bó/
 now arrive-come-EXCL
 So you've just arrived.

- IT /Phíla'-ko-loun/ inf
 SB /Bíla'-ko-gò/
 England-to-what
 What about England (when will you go back)?

- IT /chí-ne-wəloun/ inf
 SB /jí-ne-da-bó/
 be-be-EXCL
 So there is some then.

- IT /əyɛn-ətèintèin-wəloun/ inf
 SB /əyin-ətàin-bè/
 before-like-EXCL
 just as before

(28) /mā/, varying to /mō/, also /òun-mā, òun-mō/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /pì, tó/, also perhaps SB /pì-dó/

- IT /thá-mō khlá-kha/ 1.33
 SB /thá-bì chá-dó/
 rise-and hit-time
 (He) got up and struck (him).

- IT / "... sho-mā, hèn-lu-ù-o thà-khá-lō/ 1.19
 SB / "... sho-bì, èdi-lu-jì-go thà-gé-dɛ-bya/
 say-and that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man
 Saying "...", he left the fellow there.

- IT /sɔn-ná ou'-òun-mā tɛ-kha-ì yu-tɛ'-a/ 1.17
 SB /saun-né ou'-pì tɛ-kha-dè yu-tɛ'-ta/
 blanket-with cover-more-and one-time-only take-ascend-VSMK
 (He) covered (it) with a blanket and took (it) straight up.

- IT /kɔ' -òun-mā lòn-pəlai' -kha/ 2.19
 SB /kau' pì-dó làun-pəlai' -tɔ'/
 gather-further-and pour-through-time
 snatched (them) up and offered the lot

(29) /mā/ may also occur with bases other than verbs. The material has only one example:

- IT /Ten-fwe-ná-òun-mō pəshu can-shè-à/ inf
 SB /Tin-fwe-pì-dó bəðu can-ðèi-ðəlè/
 Tin-Shwe-with-more-and who be.left-yet-Q
 After counting Tin Shwe, who else is left?

(30) /mò-a/ ? sentence linker, or sentence-medial postposition = SB /taun-hmá/

- IT /mò-a-Myén-Mòn-tòn sà-nein-ù/ inf
 SB /Myín-Maun-daun-hmá mə-sà-hnain-dɔ-bù/
 even-Myint-Maung-even eat-can-VSMK
 Even Myint Maung can't eat any more.

- IT /ŋa-mò-a kùn-i'-phòun-ná khan-shì-ì/ 1.32
 SB /ŋá-go-daun kùn-i'-phòun-né khan-ðè-da-bè/
 I-ACC-even betel-box-lid-with defend-yet-VSMK
 So! (He dares to) protect himself against me with the betel box lid!

(31) /mòn-shɔ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, té-əkha/

- IT /la-mònshɔ/ inf
 SB /la-dé-əkha/
 come-when
 when (he) comes

(32) /nà/ common location noun = SB /shi, go/

- IT /ŋá-shəmì-nà la-le-là/ 1.26
 SB /ŋá-θəmì-shi la-lɛ-da-là/
 my-daughter-ACC come-visit-Q
 Have you come to court my daughter?

- IT /shú-nà pè-ɛ/ inf
 SB /θú-go pè-dɛ/
 he-ACC give-VSMK
 gave (it) to him

(33) /ná/ occasional variant for /né/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and attribute = SB /né/, also verb-sentence marker = SB /né/

- IT /hle-ná/ inf
 SB /hle-né/
 boat-with
 by boat
- IT /mə-sà-ná/ inf
 SB /mə-sà-né/
 not-eat-VSMK
 Don't eat (it).

(34) /nɛ'/ auxiliary verb = SB /leín, yò-bó/

- IT /ɰwè-shù-shù-ná pu-nɛ'-mɛ/ inf
 SB /chwè-tədì-dì-né pu-ne-yò-bó/
 sweat-drip-ADV-with be.hot-surely-will
 (You) must be hot – (you)'re sweating a lot.

(35) /ð/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà/

- IT /khɛ'-ne-ð-lè/ 1.35
 SB /khɛ'-ne-bi-bè/
 be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
 Now we're in trouble.
- IT /kòn-ð-wɔ/ inf
 SB /kàun-ðwà-bi-bè/
 be.good-go-EMP
 (It)'s all right now.

(36) /òùn-mā/ see /mā/

(37) /pɛ̃/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /phè/

- IT /ne-kòn-pɛ̃/ inf
 SB /ne-mə-kàun-bè/
 live-be.good-without
 being unwell
- IT /mə-pyò-pɛ̃/ 1.22
 SB /mə-pyò-bè/
 not-speak-without
 not replying

(38) /pù/, usually /ù/, verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/

- IT /sà-ù/ inf
 SB /mə-sà-bù/
 eat-VSMK
 (I) didn't eat.
- IT /mə-yá-pù/ inf
 SB /mə-yá-bù/
 not-get-VSMK
 (It)'s impossible.

(39) /tɛ/, usually /ɛ/, verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ/; cf. IT [zero]

- IT /thá-hnò-ɛ/ 1.23
 SB /thá-hnò-dɛ/
 rise-wake-VSMK
 (She) got up and woke (him).
- IT /shí-ne-tɛ/ inf
 SB /θí-ne-dɛ/
 know-be-VSMK
 (He) knows (them).

(40) /wā/, varying to /wā̃/, sentence-final postposition = SB /pó, pa, phè, pa-gəlà/; frequent also after IT /shā̃/ q.v., and in IT /ləwā̃/ which is perhaps /lē/ and /wā̃/

IT /è-wā/ inf

SB /è-ba/
yes-EMP
Yes.

IT /sà-wā/ inf

SB /sàpibi-bè/
eat-EMP
(I) have eaten.

IT /la-wā/ inf

SB /labi-bè/
come-EMP
(He)'s here.

IT /khú-sənà-poun-wā-là/ 2.1

SB /khú-dingá-poun-bè-là/
now-just-story-EMP-Q
Is that your only story then?

IT /əphə-lè-yə'-wā/ 2.7

SB /əphə-lè-yau'-phè/
friend-four-person-EMP
"The four friends" of course

IT /mə-nei-nein-ləwā/ 1.22

SB /mə-nei-hnain-dó-bù/
not-stay-can-EMP
(She) couldn't bear it.

IT /hèn-lè hmè-ləwā/ 1.26

SB /èdi-lo mè-yò/
that-way ask-EMP
That's how (he) asked.

(41) [zero] verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ/

IT /phərà-wu' tɛ'/ 1.24

SB /phəyà-wu' tɛ'tɛ/
lord-duty attend
(He) said his prayers.

IT /səkà-khə-pyò-cí/ 1.20

SB /səgà-khə-pyò-cí-dɛ/
word-call-say-try
(She) tried to start a conversation.

(42) [repetition] is occasionally used in ways that strike the SB speaker's ear as strange. For example:

IT	/còn-ma-ətèintèn/ inf		
SB	/càun-hma-lo/ school-at-like just as (if they were) at school		
IT	/shè-khà-pen	chàchà	jí-ε/ inf
SB	/shè-gà-bin	θa'θa'	jí-dε/ medicine-bitter-plant separate be-VSMK There is an actual (plant called) bitter-medicine plant.
IT	/tə-lá-po-po/ inf		
SB	/tə-lá-cə-jə/ one-month-exceed-ADV a bit more than a month		
IT	/shu-jì-jì	pyò-ne-a/	inf
SB	/θu-jì-bè	pyò-ne-da/	he-only-ADV speak-be-VSMK No-one talked but he.
IT	/móun-móun kre-ε/ inf		
SB	/ñε'-ñε'	ce-dε/	powder-ADV be.crushed-VSMK It was crushed to death.

3.3.4 VOCABULARY

3.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

3.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

IT	SB	
/əpε'/	/ɔwu'/	clothes
/pε'-tu/	/təgà/	door cf. Shan <i>phák-tǔ</i> 'door'
/pein/	/càn-byin/	floor cf. Shan <i>pýn</i> 'floor'
/pəsɛn-kù/	/thùn-bòun/, /saun/	quilt
/kàn-ye'/	—	veranda
/khwε'-pəle'-kù/	/səlaun-bòun/	pan lid
/khəma/	/dəmá/	large knife
/khun/	—	waterproofed basket (large)
/pai'/	—	waterproofed basket (small)
/tən-pèn/	/thəyan/	mat walling
/pəlòn/	/pədàin/	glass lamp shade
/pə-sò/	/phəlà/	bowl
/khəpà-sə'/	/yùn-dε-gwε'/	lacquer bowl
/mì-chai'/	/mì-jì'/	match, lighter
/ye-pwé/	/ye-hmou'/	water-dipper, ladle
/phyù/	/bì/	comb

3.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

IT	SB	
/shan-pou'ti/	/sa-gələ/	sparrow
/kəta'/	/ye-jə'/	waterfowl
/hnən-i/	/zin-yə/	seagull
/ɔn-pɛ/	/wùn-bè/	duck
/kəlein/	/pəywe'-shei'/	ant
/pò-sí-hmèin/	/pò-sòun-jù/	glow-worm
/pá-khe/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
/chí-chin/	/khəyàn-jin/	tomato
/tan-pu/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
		cf. Shan <i>těŋ-səm-pù</i> 'watermelon'
/phoun/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
/khɔ/	/pyaun-bù/	maize cf. Shan <i>khaw</i> 'rice' and
		<i>khaw-kàab</i> 'maize' (< 'rice' + 'husk, sheath')
/shi-pò kató/	/be-da/	water hyacinth
/an-pyɔ/	/ŋəpyɔ/	banana

3.3.4.1.3 DERIVED WORDS

IT	SB	
/kəti-kəlai'/	/kəbya-kəya/	hurriedly
/kəthu'-kəlu'/	/bo-ði-ba'θi/	unkempt
/tù-yà-tù-yà/	/bo-ði-ba'θi/	unkempt
/kəsa'-kəla'/	/məhou'məhman/	irrelevant, outrageous
/li-lì-lɛ'-lɛ'/	/wìn-wìn/	bright, shining

3.3.4.1.4 MISCELLANEOUS

IT	SB	
/kù/	/cì/	be big
/khe-phe khli'/	/chi-dau'né hlo/	paddle (boat) with leg
/kɔ'/	/chi-dau'né hlo/	paddle (boat) with leg
/phyi'/	/kan/	kick cf. Shan <i>pīt</i> 'kick'
/pli'/	/ɔ-shè/	abuse
/à-phe' wè/	/à pyain/	compete in strength
/phou'/	/ñā/	trick, deceive
/kwè/	/khɔ/	cry out, call
/í-kəne/	/əcì-əce/	greatly
/hñəun/	/hnəkhəun/	nose
/hlún/	/che'/	cook ?cf. Shan <i>hŭŋ</i> 'cook'
/ein-təma/	/θəye-za/	snacks
/mwé/	/ədɔ/ (etc.)	aunt (paternal, older maternal)
/kwən/	/ù-lè/	uncle (younger maternal)

/tɔ́-pòn/	/yau'khəmə/	mother-in-law
/ɛ/	/maun/	brother (girl's younger)
		?cf. Shan <i>é</i> (appellation for females)
/ɛ/	/əyə'/	alcoholic drink
/khe-shèn/	/chi-jìn/	anklet

3.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

IT	SB		IT form requires *SB
/lu-shəne/	/lu-ŋɛ, thəŋɛ/	child	/lu-shəne, lu-θəne/
/thàn-phò-shì/	/θìn-bò-ðì/	paw-paw	/thàn-bò-ðì/
/khòn-kòn/	/kàun-gin/	sky	/khàun-gin/
/chin-pyɔn/	/chin-baun/	roselle	/chin-byaun/
/sha'ke/	/θɛ'-ke/	thatch	/θa'ke/
/pəhe'/	/pò-ha'/	cockroach	/pəhe'/
/tɔn-pe'/	/təbe'/	towel	/taun-be'/
/hni/	/hni', hnə/	two	/hni/
/hni-lòun/	/hnəlòun/	heart	/hni-lòun/
/phwì/	/bì/	comb	/bwì/
/kəlein-thein/	/kələthain/	chair	/kəlein-, kəlain-/
/kəlèn/	/gəlàn/	bolt	/gəlìn/
/ye-khlɔ'/	/ye-təyau'/	gutter	/ye-jau'/
/n̄óun/	/ŋóun/	bow (head)	/n̄óun/
/hñà/	/hmyà/	catch (fish)	/hñà/
/thàn-phi/	/thəmein/	longyi	/thàn-bi/
/lèin, hlèin/	/lè, hlè/	fall, fell	/lèin, hlèin (or -àin)/

3.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

3.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

IT	SB		SB meaning of IT form
/yè-tèn/	/pau'shein/	axe	cf. <i>yè-dìn</i> 'battle-axe'
/əśá-əná/	/əcín/	habit	cf. <i>əśá-əná</i> 'piece, clue'
/è/	/chow/	be sweet	cf. <i>è</i> 'be cold'
/sɛ'/	/è/	be cold	cf. <i>sɛ'</i> 'drip, cross over' etc.
/əwun/	/pyi'sì/	thing, object	cf. <i>wun</i> 'load, baggage'
/pyà/	/pəzìn/	dragonfly	cf. <i>pyà</i> 'bee'
/móun-shèin/	/təbye'-sì/	broom	cf. <i>əhmóun; òèin</i> 'powder, dust; clear up'
/à klá/	/sei' shò/	be angry	cf. <i>à cá</i> 'admire, envy'
/en-doun/	/sədwe'-gwe'/	spittoon	cf. <i>in-doun</i> 'cooking pot'
/kəlèn ʃo/	/gəlàn thò, chá/	bolt (door, etc.)	
/shan-phyu/	/θu'/	corrugated iron	cf. <i>θan-byu</i> 'tin'
/mu'/	/sha/	be hungry	cf. <i>mu'</i> 'be hungry' (restricted)
/lén/	/sáun-ne/	wait	cf. <i>lín</i> 'wait' (restricted)
/lwen/	/pyɔ'-jwin/	be happy	cf. <i>lwin</i> 'be bright'

/mɛ/	/əme/	mother	cf. <i>mɛ</i> 'mother' (restricted)
/kəɔ̃'-kəɛ'/	/à-jì/, /θei'/	very, very much	cf. <i>kədaʊ'-kəɛ'</i> 'confusedly'
/pəɔ̃n-pəɛ/	/θe-ðe cha-ja/	surely, definitely	cf. <i>pədaʊn-pəɛ</i> 'strange'
/ya-su/	/chein-gwin/	scales, balance	cf. <i>ya-zu</i> 'scales' (restricted)

3.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

IT	SB		SB meaning of IT form
/khe-thou'/	/chi-nìn/	shoe	cf. <i>thou'</i> 'wrap up'
/san-pòn/	/pai'kun/	fishing net	cf. <i>san-dà</i> 'fish trap'
/ce'-khà/	/ce'-hìn-gà/	momordica	
/ei'hmwé/	/ei'pyɔ/	sleep	cf. <i>mwé-ya</i> 'mattress'
/sa'shì/	/ŋəyou'θi/	chillie	cf. <i>sa'</i> 'be hot'
/ein-khe le/	/əle θwà/	go visiting	cf. <i>ein-je</i> 'number of houses'
/khoun-nèn/	/khoun-phəna'/	wooden sandals	cf. <i>nìn</i> 'tread'
/təthà khòn-sèn/		pier (for washing from)	cf. <i>gàun</i> 'head'; <i>sìn</i> 'stretch out'
/pəti-shì/	/ce-ðì/	button	cf. <i>pədi</i> 'bead'
/mye'-pye/	/mye'-ye/	tears	cf. <i>pye</i> 'pus'
/təná/	/khəná/, /təáun/	a moment	cf. <i>nà</i> 'rest, pause'
/si-shen/	/si-zin/	arrange	cf. <i>shin</i> 'set up, set out'

3.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

IT	SB	
/ɪ/ (often [ɪ])	/è-di/	this, that
/hèn/, /én/	/è-di/	this, that
/tha/	/ho-ha/	that
/ho/ (~ [hò])	/ho/	that
/phɛ/	/bɛ/	which?

3.4 TEXTS

The following two texts are from the recordings mentioned in the introduction. One tells of a practical joke played by *ɛ-Poun Ta-Te*, who – if he ever existed – lived in the village of *Ywa-má* 'in the old days', and has become a byword for outrageous pranks. The other is a humorous anecdote, evidently in the *youn-dàn sagà* tradition, when friends vie with each other to tell the most implausible tale.

There are two speakers: 'P' is *Pwè-sà Phù*, who tells the story, and 'M' is *Myén Mòn*, his interlocutor. M's interventions are omitted when he is only saying things like 'yes' and 'really?' which do not elicit specific responses from P.

The transcription is phonemic, except for the following points:

1. The particles /wa/ and /ma/ are written /wɔ/ and /mɔ/ when the latter representation seems closer to their actual realisation.
2. Medial /-l-/ is written /-l-/ or /-r-/ according to its realisation.

3. The word corresponding to SB /ho/ 'that', when used in IT as a hesitation-word, is often pronounced, by P at any rate, with distorted vowel and tone. There is little rounding, the whole diphthong is centralised [əi], and its pitch falls from high to mid, sometimes rising to the high from a low start. Often, too, it has no initial /h/. This word, when so pronounced, is transcribed /hau/ or /au/.

3.4.1 INTA TEXT NO.1 – IF YOUR SON-IN-LAW IS NO USE, SEND HIM TO THE MONASTERY

1. M: Nən səha-poun pyò-mə-là – kè.
Nin ba-poun pyò-mə-lè – kè.
you what-story tell-will-Q come
2. P: Au – əyən-tòuná ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əcòn-wā
Ho – əyin-dòungá ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əcàun-ba
that past-while E-Pon-Ta-Te-about-EMP
3. M: è – ε-Poun-Ta-Te. P: è.
è – ε-Poun-Ta-Te. è.
right E-Pon-Ta-Te yes.
4. M: ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myà-ləwā: nən [sa – sa –]
ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myà-da-bè: nin [ba – ba –]
E-Pon-Ta-Te-story be.many-EMP you [what what]
sa-poun pyò-mə-ló-à.
ba-poun pyò-mə-ló-lè.
what-story tell-will-QUO-Q
5. P: A – nən hmàn shí-shè-ù-lō.
A – nin ba-hmàn mə-θí-ðè-bù-byà.
ah – you something know-yet-VSMK-man
6. Hèn-poun-a – au – shəmə'-mə-kòn còn pó-a
Ho-poun-ha – hou – θəmə'-mə-kàun càun pó-dé
that-story-SUBJ that son.in.law-not-be.good monastery-send-REL
poun-lē.
poun-le.
story-you.know
7. M: A – ε – hou'pi: to-to-né-lè. P: ε – to-to-né.
A – ε – hou'pi: to-do-né-bè. ε – to-do-né.
ah yes right short-ADV-with-EMP yes short-ADV-with
8. M: ε – kè: sà-n-cí-òun-shəwā. Nì-nì əsá-ló'.
ε – kè: sà-n-cí-òun-bó. Nè-nè əsá-lau'.
right come.on try-see-more-EMP little-ADV start-about
9. P: əsá-ló'-là. M: ε.
əsá-lau'-là. ε.
start-about-Q yes

10. P: Au – kətɔ'kəte'-fu' kətɔ'kəte'-nɔ' ε-Poun-Ta-Te
 Ho – inmətan-fou' inmətan-nau' ε-Poun-Ta-Te
 that very-disruptive very-prankish E-Pon-Ta-Te
 sho-a jí-ε-wā. M: ε.
 sho-da jí-de-bó. ε.
 say-thing be-VSMK-EMP yes
11. P: tó-ì-Hèya-Ywamá-ma, – a – əyɛn-tòuná-lē.
 dó-di-Hèya-Ywamá-hma, – a – əyin-dòungá-le.
 our-this-Heya Ywama-in er past-while-you.know
12. [Hèn – shu-á – au –] Kəlɪŋe-nà-ma
 [Da – θu-gá – ho –] Kəlɪŋe-nà-hma
 [that he-SUBJ – that –] Kalinge-near-at
 mènímá-əchò-tə-yɔ' jí-ε – mènímá kətɔ'kəte'-hlá.
 mènímá-əchò-tə-yau' jí-de – mènímá inmətan-hlā-de.
 woman-beautiful-one-person be-VSMK woman very-pretty
13. [Hèn-kha shu-a – au –] shú-ó khi'-tòuná-nɔ
 [èdi-dó θu-ha – ho –] θu-dó khi'-tòungá-nɔ
 [that-since he-SUBJ that] they-PL time-while-you.know
 sɔn-khòn-ou'-le-ε-shɔ – èinmá-pyo le-ε-shɔ-lē.
 saun-gàun-ou'-pì le-de-bó – mènímá-byo le-de-bó-le.
 blanket-head-cover-visit-VSMK-EMP woman-maid visit-VSMK-EMP-see
14. Sɔn-khòn-ou'-le-ε khi'-ma, hèn-mènímá-ká
 Saun-gàun-ou'-pì-le-dé khi'-hma, èdi-mènímá-gá
 blanket-head-cover-visit-REL time.in that-woman-SUBJ
 maná-cì-lùn-kha, shu-a hèn khlò-chen-ε –
 maná-cì-lùn-dó, θu-ha èda chò-jin-de –
 pride-be.great-exceed-time he-SUBJ that break-want-VSMK
 hèn-maná-o – ε-Poun-á.
 èdi-maná-go – ε-Poun-gá.
 that-pride-ACC E-Pon-SUBJ
15. Hèn-ná [shu-a – au –] Sanya-còn-ma
 èda-ne [θu-gá – ho –] Sanya-jàun-hma
 that-with [he-SUBJ that] Sanya-monastery-at
 tó-əyou'-ù-tə-you' jí-ε –
 dó-əyou'-cì-tə-you' jí-de –
 our-image-big-one-image be-VSMK
16. [ho –] tó-əyou'-wɔ – mè-mè-wá-wá-ù-shəwā.
 [ho –] dó-əyou'-pó – mè-mè-wá-wá-jì-bó.
 [that] our-image-you.know black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP
17. È – hèn-myò-wā, shu-a shɔn-wā –
 È – èdi-myò-bó, θu-ha shaun-da –
 yes that-kind-you.know he-SUBJ carry-EMP

sɔn-ná ou'-òun-mā tə-kha-ì yu-tə'-a - shu-á
 saun-né ou'-pì tə-kha-dè yu-tə'-ta - ʈu-gá
 blanket-with cover-yet-and one-time-only take-ascend-VSMK he-SUBJ

- hèn-mèinmá-pyo-hlá-hlá-ein-o.

- èdi-mèinmá-byo-hlá-hlá-ein-go.

that-woman-maid-pretty-ADV-house-ACC

18. Há - yu-tə'-kha "ɛ-lɔ - nɛn [ŋa -] ì-ma
 Há - yu-tə'-tɔ "Kè-kwa - nin [ŋa -] di-hma
 ha take-ascend-time right-man you [I] here-at

tənà le-ne-òun-nɔ.

khənà le-ne-òun-nɔ.

moment visit-stay-more-right?

19. ŋa-á au-ko tənà le-òun-ma" sho-mā,
 ŋa-gá ho-go khənà le-òun-hma" sho-bì,
 I-SUBJ there-to moment visit-further-VSMK say-and

hèn-lu-ù-o thà-khá-lɔ.

èdi-lu-jì-go thà-gé-dɛ-bya.

that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man

20. Hèn thà-khá-kha, mèinmá-ká səkà-kho-pyò-cí: mə-pyò.
 èdilo thà-gé-dɔ, mèinmá-gá səgà-kho-pyò-cí-dɛ: mə-pyò-bù.
 thus leave-there-time woman-SUBJ word-call-say-try not-speak

21. tə-ñá-lòun-á-lè lou'òun-mɔ, te-òun-mɔ,
 tə-ñá-lòun-gá-lè lou'pì, ne-dɔ,
 one-night-all-SUBJ-also do-and stay-more-when

22. thein-é-əkha, lèn-nà-nì-la-kha, shu mə-ne-nein-ləwā -
 thain-dé-əkha, lìn-ga-nì-la-dɔ, ʈu mə-ne-nain-dɔ-bù -
 sit-REL-time light-near-near-come-time she not-stay-can-EMP

mèinmá-á - hmè-lɔ mə-pyò-pè-ha.

mèinmá-gá - mè-lɔ mə-pyò-bè-ha.

woman-SUBJ ask-ing not-speak-without-thing

23. Hèn-lè shú-phá-o thá-hnò-ɛ.
 èdi-lo ʈú-əphe-go thá-hnò-dɛ.
 this-way her-father-ACC rise-wake-VSMK

24. Shú-phá-á "È - lèn-kha nì-ne-wɔ"
 ʈú-əphe-gá "È - lìn-ga nì-ne-bi-bè"
 her-father-SUBJ yes light-time be.near-stay-EMP

sho-mā, phərà-wu'-tə'.

sho-bì, phəyà-wu'-tə'-tɛ.

say-and lord-duty-attend

25. È - shu-a hèn-lè lou'-òun-mā tə-kha-tì
 È- ʈu-ha èdi-lo lou'-pì-dɔ tə-kha-dè
 yes he-SUBJ this-way do-more-when one-time-only

- hèn-lu-ù-o la-hmè-a:
 èdi-lu-jì-go la-mè-da:
 that-man-big-ACC come-ask-VSMK
26. “È-mɔn: nən-a ɲá-shəmì-nà la-le-là” – hèn-lè hmè-ləwā
 “È-maun: nin-ha ɲá-θəmì-shi la-le-da-là” – èdi-lo mè-yò.
 hey-man you-SUBJ my-daughter-to come-visit-Q that-way ask-EMP
27. Hèn-lu-ká mə-pyò-la-ù.
 èdi-lu-gá mə-pyò-la-bù.
 that-man-SUBJ not-speak-come-VSMK
28. Hèn-mɔ̃ [myò-la –] pyò-la-pè-kha,
 èdi-dó [myò-la –] mə-pyò-la-dó,
 that-then [neak-come] speak-come-without-time
 tòshá-ká thwɛ'-la-ɛ – èn-lu-a.
 dòðá-gá thwɛ'-la-dɛ – èdi-lu-ha.
 anger-SUBJ emerge-come-VSMK that-man-SUBJ
29. M: È – hèn-pì sa lou'-à.
 È – èdi-dó ba lou'θə-lè.
 yes that-finish what do-Q
 P: [Hèn tòshá thwɛ'-la-òun-mā –] tòshá thwɛ'-kha
 [èdilo dòðá thwɛ'-la-dó –] dòðá thwɛ'-pì
 [thus anger emerge-come-more-when] anger emerge-time
 thá-òun-mā thò-lai'-shō – hèn-lu-o.
 thá-pì-dó thò-lai'-kō – èdi-lu-go.
 rise-further-when strike-through-EMP that-man-ACC
30. Hèn thá-thò-kha, phɛ – au-lu-a əyou'-wəshō –
 èdilo thá-thò-dó, bɛ – ho-lu-ha əyou'-phè –
 thus rise-strike-time what that-man-SUBJ image-EMP
 lu mə-hou'-pè.
 lu mə-hou'-phè.
 man not-be.so-without
31. Khòn-ma əthò-mí-kha klɔ'-khənè mi-à-ɛ.
 Gàun-hma əthò-mí-dó kəlau'-khənè myi-ðwà-dɛ.
 head-on blow-catch-time clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK
32. Hèn shu sai'-to-la-ɛ: “I – nən ɲa-mòə
 èdidó ʈu sei'-to-la-dɛ: “He – nin ɲá-godaun
 so he mind-be.short-come-VSMK hey you me-even
 kùn-i'-phòun-ná khan-shì-ì”.
 kùn-i'-phòun-né khan-ðè-da-bè”.
 betel-box-lid-with defend-yet-VSMK
33. I-ma thá-mɔ̃ khlá-kha,
 èdi-hma thá-bì chá-dó,
 there-at rise-and strike-time

- khe-tho' thá-phyi'-pəlai'-kha, lèin-à-shō – əyou'-wā.
 chi-dau' thá-kan-pəlai'-tō, lè-ðwà-da-bè – əyou'-le.
 foot-support rise-kick-out-time fall-go-EMP image-you.see
34. Hà – əyou'-ù pə-la.
 Hà – əyou'-cì pə-la-yò.
 ha image-big emerge-come-VSMK
35. “Hò – khè'-ne-ò-lè:
 “Hò – khè'-ne-bi-bè:
 ho be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
- ì-a ε-Poun-Ta-Te lou'-à-wā.
 di-ha ε-Poun-Ta-Te lou'thà-da-bè.
 this-thing E-Pon-Ta-Te do-go-EMP
36. Mə-phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù,” sho-mā,
 Mə-phyi'-phù, mə-phyi'-phù, mə-phyi'-phù,” sho-bì,
 not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK say-and
37. [ε –] “È – ṇá-shə̀mì la, la, la:
 [ε –] “È – ṇgá-θə̀mì la, la, la:
 [mm] right my-daughter come come come
- tó-məná-shà ì-a còn-əpó-myà.” M: È – mənɛ'sa
 dó-θà-əphá di-ha càun-pó-hmá.” È – mənɛ'
 we-father-child this-thing monastery-send-be.much right morning
- sòsòsìsì.
 sòzòsìzì.
 early
38. P: È – mənɛ'sa sòsòsìsì. Còn-əyu-ma hlo-a –
 È – mənɛ' sòzòsìzì. Càun-yu-ðwà-bó hlo-da –
 right morning early monastery-take-in row-VSMK
- hèn-əyou'-ù-wō.
 èdi-əyou'-cì-bó.
 that-image-big-I.mean
39. Còn əyou'-ù-o hlo-é-kha, ε-Poun-á –
 Càun əyou'-cì-go hlo-dé-əkha, ε-Poun-gá –
 monastery image-big-ACC row-REL-time E-Pon-SUBJ
- shu-á ṇān-né-shə̀wā – èn-si-shen-à hou'-à.
 θu-gá ṇān-né-bó – è-da-si-zin-thà-da məhou'-là.
 he-SUBJ brain-with-EMP that-arrange-set-VSMK be.so-Q
40. Hèn-kha [shu-a-au –] ywa-pyən-phe'-nà-ma
 èdi-dó [θu-ha-ho –] ywa-əpyin-bé'-nà-hma
 that-time [he-SUBJ-that] village-outside-direction-near-at
- pákhe-sen-tə-sen ʃí-ɛ.
 phəyoun-zin-tə-zin ʃí-dɛ.
 pumpkin-frame-one-frame be-VSMK

41. Ho-pákhe-sen-ɔ'-nà-ma shu-a [au -]
 Ho-phəyoun-zin-au'-nà-hma ʈu-ha [ho -]
 that-pumpkin-frame-under-near-in he-SUBJ [that]
 əpyɛn thwɛ'-lolo sa-lolo lou'-òun-mā,
 əpyin thwɛ'-θəlolo ba-lolo lou'-pì-dó,
 outside emerge-as.if what-as.if do-further-when
42. hèn-ma chòn-cí-ne-ɛ - [ɛn -] chòn-cí-ne-ɛ.
 èdi-hma chàun-cí-ne-dɛ - [ɛda -] chàun-cí-ne-dɛ.
 there-at peer-look-stay-VSMK [that] peer-look-stay-VSMK
43. ɛn ho-ká phá-ná-shà hlo-a myɛn-kha,
 èdilo ho-gá ʈa-əphá hlo-da myin-dó,
 thus there-from father-and-child row-thing see-when
44. “Yɛ-lɔ - nɛn-a phə-lè-myò-a
 “Hé-kwa - nin-ha bɛ-lo-myò-lè
 hey-you you-SUBJ what-like-kind-Q
 shəmə' mə-kòn-a còn-pó-shə-là-wɔ,” sho-ɛ.
 ʈəmə' mə-kàun-da càun-pó-ʈə-là-byə,” sho-dɛ.
 son.in.law not-be.good-thing monastery-send-VSMK-Q-EMP say-VSMK

3.4.2 INTA TEXT NO.2 – THE FOUR FRIENDS

1. M: Kè - nɛn khúsənà-poun-wɔ-là.
 Kè - nin khúdingá-poun-bɛ-là.
 right you just.now-story-only-Q
2. Səha-poun jí-shè-à - nɛn-a.
 Ba-poun jí-ʈè-ʈəlè - nin-ha.
 what-story have-further-Q you-SUBJ
3. P: ɔ - jɛjɛ-òun-á poun-ɔ əmyà-ù-wā.
 ɔ - jɛjɛ-dòun-gá poun-dó əmyà-jì-ba.
 oh past-in-from story-as.for many-big-EMP
4. [Səha -] Nɛn səha nà-thɔn-chɛn-ɛ-lɔ.
 [Ba -] Nin ba nà-thaun-jin-lè-kwa.
 [what] you what ear-set.up-want-Q-man
5. M: ɛn - sa-nà-thɔn-chɛn-à shəwā
 In - ba-nà-thaun-jin-ʈəlè sho-yin
 that what-ear-set.up-want-Q say-if
 [nɛn - au - tó - ɛn -] əphɔ-lè-yɔ' sho-myò-á
 [nin - ho - dó - in -] əphɔ-lè-yau' shodéha-myò-gá
 [you that our mm] friend-four-person say-kind-SUBJ
 nì-nì cà-phù - [nɛn -] ɲa hmàn-shí-lo'-ù.
 nɛ-nɛ cà-bù - [nin -] ɲa kàungàun-mə-θí-dó-bù.
 little-ADV hear-ever [you] I what-know-any.more-VSMK

6. P: A – ho-shəŋɛjɛn-lè-yɔ' poun-shɔ-là.
 A – ho-θəŋɛjɛn-lè-yau' poun-sho-da-là.
 ah that-friend-four-person story-say-thing-Q
7. M: È – hɛ̀-è – əphɔ-lè-yɔ'-wā.
 È – hɛ̀-è – əphɔ-lè-yau'-phè.
 yes hey-yes friend-four-person-EMP
8. P: È – əphɔ-lè-yɔ'. Yá-ne-wā – hèn-nó.
 È – əphɔ-lè-yau'. Yá-da-bó – èda-dó.
 yes friend-four-person get-thing-of.course that-as.for
9. M: È – kè – tɔʃɛ'-tù lou'-cí-òun – hèn-a.
 È – kè – nɛ-nè lou'-cí-òun – èda-gá.
 right OK little-ADV do-see-more that-SUBJ
10. P: Hèn-əphɔ-lè-yɔ'-a au-əyɛn-tòun-á
 èdi-əphɔ-lè-yau'-ha ho-əyin-dòun-gá
 that-friend-four-person-SUBJ that-former-while-from
 əphɔ-lè-yɔ' ʃí-ɛ.
 əphɔ-lè-yau' ʃí-dɛ.
 friend-four-person be-VSMK
11. Hèn-əphɔ-lè-yɔ' ʃí-ɔ́, nə-thò shwà-a.
 èdi-əphɔ-lè-yau' ʃí-dó, nə-əthò θwà-da.
 that-friend-four-person be-when fish-spear go-VSMK
12. nə-thò shwà-kha, tɔ-yɔ'-ká nà kətɔ'kətɛ' là;
 nə-əthò θwà-dó, tɔ-yau'-ká nà inmətan cì;
 fish-spear go-when one-person-SUBJ ear very be.big
13. ... tɔ-yɔ'-ká phen kətɔ'kətɛ' chun;
 ... tɔ-yau'-ká phin inmətan chun;
 tone-person-SUBJ buttock very be.pointed
14. tɔ-yɔ'-ká-ɔ́ hna'khlè kətɔ'kətɛ' thu;
 tɔ-yau'-ká-dó hna'chì inmətan thu;
 one-person-SUBJ-however snot very be.think
15. [in –] in – lè-yɔ': hèn-kha lɛ'-wà-kù-shəmà-tə-yɔ'.
 [in –] in – lè-yau': pì-dó lɛ'-wà-cì-ðəmà-tə-yau'.
 [yes] yes four-person finish-when hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person
16. M: 0 – hou'-pi: lɛ'-wà-kù-shəmà-tə-yɔ'-ná,
 0 – hou'-pi: lɛ'-wà-cì-ðəmà tɔ-yau'-né,
 oh be.so-VSMK hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person-and
 nàwɛ'-là-shəmà-tə-yɔ'-ná, phen-chun-shəmà-tə-yɔ'-ná,
 nəywe'-cì-ðəmà-tə-yau'né, phin-chun-ðəmà-tə-yau'né,
 ear-be.big-person-one-person-and buttock-be.pointed-person-one-person-and
 hna'khrè-thu-shəmà tɔ-yɔ'-ná – è, hou'-pi: hèn-mó-loun.
 hna'chì-thu-ðəmà tɔ-yau'né – è, hou'-pi: èda-pìdó-gò.
 snot-be.thick-person-one-person-and yes be.so-VSMK that-then-what

17. P: nə-thò-shwà-kha, shu-tó nə-a thò-thé-ε:
 nə-əthò-θwà-dó, θu-dó nə-ha thò-thé-dε:
 fish-spear-go-when he-PL fish-SUBJ spear-catch-VSMK
 nə-o θu-dó yá-ɔ.
 nə-go θu-dó yá-yò.
 fish-ACC he-PL get-VSMK
18. nə-a yá-la-kha, phwàshilá-ká la-hlu-khan-a.
 nə-ha yá-la-dó, phwàθilá-gá la-əhlu-khan-dε.
 fish-SUBJ get-come-time nun-SUBJ come-alms-request-VSMK
19. Hèn la-hlu-khan-kha, lε'-wà-kù-shəmə-á,
 ɛ̀dilo la-əhlu-khan-dé-əkha, lε'-wà-cì-ðəmə-gá,
 thus come-alms-request-time hand-palm-be.big-person-SUBJ
 sha'khənə sho-a, kɔ'-òun-mō lòn-pəlai'-kha, nə-a
 sha'khənə sho-bì, kau'-pì-dó làun-pəlai'-tɔ, nə-ha
 dashing say-when pick.up-further-and offer-through-time fish-SUBJ
 shu-tó thò-thé-à-a koun-à-lɔ.
 θu-dó thò-thé-thà-da koun-ðwà-yò.
 he-PL spear-catch-place-thing be.used.up-go-VSMK
20. Sai'-to-é-kha “nə-a tə-ñá-lòun thò-é-ha-o
 Sei'-to-dé-əkha “nə-ha tə-ñá-lòun thò-dé-ha-go
 mind-be.short-REL-time fish-SUBJ one-night-all spear-REL-thing-ACC
 ì-lu-a lε'-wà-kù-ná lou'-òun-mā
 di-lu-ha lε'-wà-jì-né lou'-pì-dó
 this-man-SUBJ hand-palm-big-with do-more-when
 kha'-lòn-yá-mə-lá” sho-òun-mō, phen-chun-shəmə-á
 kha'-làun-yá-mə-lá” sho-pì-dó, phin-chun-ðəmə-gá
 scoop-offer-must-VSMK-Q say-finish-when buttock-be.pointed-person-SUBJ
 sai'-to-a hle shón-mā-thein-ε.
 sei'-to-bì hle sháun-bì-thain-dε.
 mind-be.short-finish boat jolt-and-sit-VSMK
21. È- hle-á pɔ'-thwε'-a.
 È- hle-gá pau'-θwà-da.
 yes boat-SUBJ be.holed-come-VSMK
 Hle pɔ'-thwε'-kha, èn-hñɔ-khlè-thu-shəmə kɔ'-òun-mā
 Hle pau'θwà-dé-əkha, ɛ̀di-hna'chì-thu-ðəmə kau'-pì-dó
 boat be.holed-come-time that-snot-be.thick-person grab-further-and
 pha-ε - shu-o.
 pha-dε - θu-go.
 patch-VSMK it-ACC
22. M: Hé. ε, è. Hèn-wɔ-là. P: È- ì-ha-wɔ-lɔ.
 Hé. ε, è. Da-bè-là. È- da-ha-bè-kwa.
 hey yes yes that-EMP-Q yes this-thing-EMP-man

23. M: Nàwε'-là-shəmà-á sa-lou'-ló.
 Nəywe'-cì-ðəmà-gá ba-lou'-θəlè-ló.
 ear-be.big-person-SUBJ what-do-Quo.
24. P: ε - nàwε'-là-shəmà-á sho-a,
 ε - nəywe'-cì-ðəmà-gá sho-yin,
 yes ear-be.big-person-SUBJ say-if
 hau-á sho-wā - hle mə-hlɔ-tàn-ya,
 həwa-gá sho-badɔ - hle mə-hlɔ-nain-dó,
 that.thing-SUBJ say-EMP boat not-row-can-because
25. shú-nàwε' kətɔ'kəte'-ù là-ne-kha,
 θú-nəywe' inmətan-bè cì-ne-dó,
 his-ear very-great be.big-stay-time
 [ho - i -] ywε'-hle thɔn-à-ətèin-nò.
 [ho - di -] ywε'-hle thaun-thà-dé-ətàin-bó.
 [that this] sail-boat set.up-go-like-you.see
26. M: Hèn-nəkè. P: È.
 Dilo-là. È.
 thus-then yes

3.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

3.4.3.1 IF YOUR SON-IN-LAW IS NO USE, SEND HIM TO THE MONASTERY

1. M: Right then, what story are you going to tell us?
2. P: About ε-Poun-Ta-Te in the old days.
3. M: Ah - ε-Poun-Ta-Te. P: Yes.
4. M: There are lots of stories about ε-Poun-Ta-Tei; which one will you tell?
5. P: Ah - you don't know yet.
6. The one - m m - you know, the story about sending your son-in-law to the monastery if he's no use.
7. M: Ah yes, I know. Good and short. P: Yes, good and short.
8. M: Right then, off you go. Come on, make a start.
9. P: A start, eh? M: Yes.
10. P: Well, there was this lad called ε-Poun-Ta-Te, a great wag, a great joker.
11. Yes, right here in this village of ours, Hè-ya Ywa-má - in the old days, I mean.
12. And there was this beautiful girl near Kalì-nge - tremendously pretty.
13. In those days, you know, they used to wear a blanket over their heads, when they went visiting the girls.
14. Well, in those days of blankets over the head, this girl was much too arrogant and he wanted to humble her - I mean her arrogance, did ε-Poun.

15. So, there was this big statue at San-ya monastery.
16. Hm – this statue, it was a huge black thing.
17. So that's the thing he took along: covered its head and took it up, he did, up into the pretty girl's house.
18. Well then, when he got up there he said, "Right. You stay visiting here a while.
19. I'm going to visit somewhere else for a bit", and he left this "man" there.
20. After that, the girl tried to make conversation with him, but he said nothing.
21. They spent the whole night stuck like that, sitting there,
22. and when it was near dawn, she couldn't take it any more – the girl – because he never answered her questions.
23. So she got up and woke her father.
24. Her father said "Oh. Nearly dawn", and went and said his prayers.
25. Then, when that was over, he came straight over and questioned the "man".
26. "Look here, are you visiting my daughter?" – that's what he said.
27. The "man" didn't answer.
28. Then, when he didn't answer – when he didn't answer after three or four times of asking, he got angry – the father, I mean.
29. In his anger he upped and hit him – hit this "man".
30. After that, well, this "man" was a statue after all, not a real person.
31. The blow landed on his head, and went "clonk".
32. That made the father lose his temper: "So! You'd defend yourself against me with the betel-box lid, would you?"
33. and he upped and hit him again, kicked him with his foot, and over he fell – being a statue.
34. Then they realised it was a statue.
35. "Ha! Now we're in trouble. This must be ε-Poun's doing.
36. It's no good, no good at all", he said.
37. "Daughter, come here quickly. You and I had better take this to the monastery".
- M: That's right, early in the morning.
38. P: Yes, early in the morning. They paddled along with it to the monastery – with the statue.
39. As they were paddling along, old ε-Poun – he was a cunning fellow, you see – he'd got it all worked out.
40. Just on the outskirts of the village there was a pumpkin frame.
41. There he was under this pumpkin frame, half hidden and half in the open,
42. and he was on the lookout for them, he was, on the lookout.

43. When he saw the father and daughter paddling along,
 44. he said “Hi there! What’s that? Sending a useless son-in-law to the monastery, are you?”

3.4.3.2 THE FOUR FRIENDS

1. M: Well now. Is that the only story you know then?
2. What other stories have you got?
3. P: Oh, there are plenty of stories of the old days.
4. What do you want to hear?
5. M: Well, what I want to hear is – hm – something I once heard before, something about four friends – I can’t remember what it was.
6. P: Ah – you mean the story of the four friends?
7. M: Yes, that’s it. The four friends.
8. P: I see, the four friends. You can have that, if you like.
9. M: Right then. Give us a go at that one.
10. P: Well, the four friends then. A long time ago there were these four friends.
11. One day the four of them went off to spear fish.
12. Off they went, and one of them had these huge ears;
13. ... another had an incredibly pointed backside;
14. the third had vast quantities of snot.
15. Hm – four of them – oh yes: the fourth had enormous hands.
16. M: I see: one with enormous hands, one with huge ears, one with a sharp backside, and one with quantities of snot. Right. What happened then?
17. P: Off they went, to spear fish, and they landed quite a few – quite a few fish they got.
18. When they’d got quite a few fish, this nun came asking for offerings.
19. When she came along the big-handed man suddenly scooped up a load of fish and gave them to her, and all the fish they’d caught were gone!
20. This was infuriating: “All the fish we’d got by fishing from dusk to dawn, this great oaf, with his enormous hands – why ever did he have to go and make an offering of them?” said the sharp-ended one, mad at him, and he sat down in the boat with a bump.
21. Well, the boat was holed. After that the snotty one grabbed a handful and bunged up the hole – the hole in the boat.
22. M: Is that it then? P: Yes, that’s it.
23. M: What did the big-eared man do?
24. P: Oh yes. The one with big ears, he whatsanamed – they couldn’t paddle the boat,

25. so, as his ears were so huge, they sailed off as if it was a sailing boat.

26. M: Oh, is that how it was? P: Yes.

4. TAVOYAN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the earliest notices of the Tavoyan dialect was published in 1799, when, under the name of 'Tanayntharee' (i.e. modern Tə̀nìn-θa-yi or Tenasserim), it was included in a comparative vocabulary alongside Standard Burmese, Arakanese, and Ỳ (Buchanan 1798:224). Oddly enough, the writer of that article found no instance, in his list of 50 words, in which Tavoyan differed from Standard Burmese. Perhaps one of the dialects (or both) has changed appreciably since then, or maybe he was badly served by his informants, because in fact the differences are quite remarkable. A favourite Tavoyan tongue-twister for speakers of Standard Burmese gives an idea of how striking some of them are:

TV	/Klɔ̀n-khɔ̀n-tha'ma	klì-gàn gɔ̀n/
SB	/Càun-khaun-bɔ̀-hma	cì-gàn tɔ̀-gaun/
TV	/klɔ̀'khè-ná pyi'khlá	- ɔ̀' klá-la:/
SB	/cau'khè-né pyi'chá	- au' cá-la:/
TV	/klàn-tha'ma θe:	klà kai'shɔ̀n./
SB	/thun-yè-bɔ̀-hma θe:	cà kai'shaun./

Up on the monastery roof, a crow.

Threw a stone and hit him – down he fell.

He died on the plough-ridge: a tiger carried him off.

Another intriguing insight offered by Tavoyan has to do with a curious WB/SB mismatch. WB has the words *Mranmā* 'Burmese', *tam-mrak-caññ*: 'broom', and *Mrit* 'Beik' (the Burmese name of the town known to foreigners as Mergui). By normal rules the SB pronunciation would be /Myan-ma, təmye'si, Myei'/. but in fact the words are pronounced /Bəma, təbye'si, Bei'/. No other words in SB manifest this unlikely match of spelling and pronunciation. The Tavoy dialect, however, reveals that the equation WB *mr* = Tavoyan /by/ is found in many words, so the SB pronunciation is not as bizarre as first appears. Why the /by/ reflex is so common in one dialect and so restricted in the other remains to be discovered.

4.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The town of Tavoy (SB /Dəwɛ/) stands halfway down the 'tail' of Burma, a narrow coastal strip some 500 miles long, backed by the Dàw-ná and Tenasserim ranges of mountains which form the boundary between Burma and southern Thailand. In spite of reasonably good communications up and down the coast by both land and sea, the distribution of the TV dialect speakers appears to be curiously limited: at the time when they were recorded for the LSB (Webb 1917:33) they were virtually all in the Tavoy District, which extends 60-70 miles north and south of the town. They were said to be distributed 'throughout the District'. A comparatively insignificant number were recorded in Ỳ and Kyaik-khami (Amherst) to the north. Even fewer were recorded south of the District, at

Palaw and Káw-thàung (Victoria Point), but these were probably Merguese anyway, whose dialect, pace Mr Taylor, is quite different from Tavoyan.

My informant told me in 1969 that the population of the Tavoy District then was around 400,000, and “only a few” of these did not speak Tavoyan. Though I have no authentication for this figure, it sounds not implausible: the population of the whole country is generally assumed to have doubled since the last full census in 1931; if Tavoy District has kept pace with this rate of increase it should have moved from 180,000 in 1931 to about 360,000 in 1969, which is not so very far off the figure my informant had heard. Bradley (1994) estimates some 400,000 current speakers of Tavoyan.

For what they are worth, the old figures for TV speakers, rounded to the nearest thousand, are as follows:

1931 census:	159,000
1921 census:	132,000
LSB 1917:	138,000
1911 census:	46,000
1901 census:	nil

4.1.2 BACKGROUND

The legend, apparently related by the Tavoyans themselves, is that they came from Arakan. This alleged origin is often repeated in the literature, for example in Forbes (1878:212) who says the Tavoyans are “only a colony of the Arracanese, as is stated in their traditions and confirmed by their language, which has since become corrupted by Shan and Siamese influence” (see also, to the same effect, Taylor 1921:91, LSI (Grierson 1904:379), Gaz.LB (Spearman 1879/1:151), Gaz.B (Lowis 1908/1:437), Houghton n.d.:1). There is even an ingenious piece of etymologising which makes out that the Arakanese depended on the place for their cutlery, since WB *Thā:way* ‘Tavoy’ is obviously derived from *thā:* ‘knife’ and *way* ‘buy’ (Houghton n.d.:1, Low 1835:253).

Taylor (1921:91) cast doubt on the Siamese influence. One might well add that the supposed similarity between Tavoyan and Arakanese is not convincing either. A few of the more obvious points in the phonology are discussed below.

1. AR, like SB and other dialects, merges WB *ut*, *un* with *up*, *um*, whereas TV keeps them distinct.
2. The splits and mergers of other WB rhymes take quite different directions in the two dialects (in the WB row *Y* is a cover symbol for palatal initials):

AR	<i>ain</i>		<i>ɔn</i>		<i>ɛn</i>	<i>ai'</i>		<i>ɔ'</i>		<i>ɛ'</i>
WB	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>añ(ñ)</i>	<i>Yaŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>uik</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>Yak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>at</i>
TV	<i>ain</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>an</i>			<i>ai'</i>	<i>i'</i>		<i>a'</i>	

3. The reflexes of Old Burmese initial clusters with *l*, *y* and *r* are again strikingly dissimilar in the two dialects. Simplifying a little, the main patterning is:

AR	<i>c</i>		<i>kr</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>pr</i>	
OB	<i>kl</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>pl</i>
TV	<i>kl</i>	<i>c</i>		<i>py</i>		<i>pl</i>

4. AR has nothing to match TV /by/ for WB *mr*, *hmr*, or TV /í, ú/ for WB *it*, *ut*.

Many of the phonological features that AR and TV do have in common are also shared by other dialects, so it is difficult to point to anything which is peculiar to these two only. The same may be said for items of grammar and lexicon: I am not aware of any, in my limited coverage, that are exclusive to AR and TV. While the legend, then, cannot be disproved, there seems little case for saying it is 'confirmed by their language'.

Tavoy is mentioned in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions, which suggest that it was subject to Pagan at the time (Pe Maung Tin 1933:45, Luce 1969:100 n., 1933:296,300). It looks as if the Tavoyans may have reached their area in or around the Pagan period, and subsequently developed the distinctive features of their dialect as a result of being virtually cut off from the main body of Burmese speakers by the Mon centres round the gulf of Martaban (Mok-tamá). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Tavoyans to this day call SB speakers from the central plains /Pəgan-θà/ 'men of Pagan' – but so apparently do the Merguiese (Carapiett, in Luce 1969:46), whose dialect reportedly differs little from SB.

Later on, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the position of Tavoy made it specially vulnerable to attack in conflicts between the Burmese, the Mon and the Thai. The connection with Siam is immortalised in *The Lusiads* (1572):

Olha Tavai cidade, onde começa
De Sião largo o imperio
(Os Lusiadas x.123)

Tavais city, too, observe, where lo!
Siam's vast empire doth begin, so long
(Aubertin 1878, vol.2 p.255)

Tavoy was seized by one side after another at frequent intervals (see Gaz.B (Lowis 1908:438) for some details), and even had a brief period of independence from 1752 (Gaz.B 1908:438 and Houghton n.d.:2). The area was brought under British rule when Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed in 1826, and Tenasserim remains a Division within the central administration of independent Burma.

4.1.3 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The notes on the following pages are drawn from material collected during a stay in Tavoy in 1969. The bulk of it comes from recordings made for me by Û Cò Mìn.

Û Cò Mìn was the son of a practitioner of traditional medicine, a Tavoyan who was distinguished enough to have a street named after him, and who came to be known in Burma as Mì-bòun-byan Û Cò Yin through his skill and daring in flying with home-made hot-air balloons. Though Û Cò Mìn had spent his life in Tavoy and habitually spoke TV with his family and in and around his home town, he had travelled, and was able to speak SB if the occasion demanded. This made me at first wary of his TV, but a comparison of his speech with that of non-SB-speaking informants who also made recordings showed that his TV was unaffected by this ability – except perhaps at two points which are marked in the

transcription. I use his recording in preference to that of the other informants as his is not so fast and slurred.

The major text reproduced here is a Tavoyan folktale, told to two of the girls who worked in the family cheroot-making business, and transcribed with Û Cɔ Mìn's help. I also include a transcription of some of the Tavoyan chants and songs that Û Cɔ Mìn recorded for me, the texts of which are printed, in Burmese script, in his book on Tavoy (Cɔ Mìn 1968).

The material taken from these recordings is supplemented by informants' answers to questions, further recordings of short word lists, and notes made of points encountered or overheard in conversation.

4.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was very sad to hear that Û Cɔ Mìn died of cancer in 1972. Not only was he an understanding, consistent, and painstaking informant, but he also took it on himself to act most generously as my host and guide during my stay in Tavoy. His enthusiasm for things Tavoyan, and his knowledge of the area, were immense, and I am much indebted to him. I am also grateful to the members of his family and household who helped to look after me and answer my questions.

4.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

4.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

4.2.1.1 TONES

heavy	/ḥ/
creaky	/ḥ'/
low	/+/
stop	/+'/
weak	/ə/

4.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:	weak								
	full	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	
Closed syllables:	nasal	<i>iːŋ</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ɔŋ</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>uːŋ</i>	<i>aon</i>
	stop		<i>i'</i>	<i>ai'</i>	<i>a'</i>	<i>ɔ'</i>	<i>u'</i>		<i>ao'</i>

4.2.1.3 HEADS

						with medial /y/	with medial /l/	with medial /w/	Medial /w/ occurs with all initials except /w/ itself ' (since /'w/ would be equivalent to initial /w-/) h (since /hw/ is already listed among the initials) ñ and hñ
<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>z</i>	(<i>ð</i>)	<i>by</i>	<i>gl</i>	<i>bl</i>	
<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>py</i>	<i>kl</i>	<i>pl</i>	
<i>kh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>khl</i>	<i>phl</i>	
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ñ</i>			<i>my</i>	<i>ml</i>		
<i>hŋ</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>hñ</i>			<i>hmy</i>	<i>hml</i>		

(')	l	w	y	r	(ly)
h	hl	hw	f		(hly)

4.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

All sounds are realised as in SB except as set out below:

Tones are on the whole similar to SB tones, but there is a difference in clause intonation matched by differences in syllable tone. The study of intonation is not within the scope of these notes, but an obvious feature is the relatively low pitch, compared with SB, of TV syllables in the stop tone.

The situation regarding rhymes is:

- /a/: further back than SB /a/, sometimes closer to SB /ɔ/
- /i:ɐ/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /i/
- /an, a'/: vowel closer than SB /an, a'/
- /ɔn, ɔ'/: vowel more open than SB and TV open syllable /ɔ/
- /u:ɐ/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /u/
- /aon, ao'/: diphthong from open front unrounded towards close back rounded
- /-n/: nasalisation, often faint, sometimes absent
- /θ/: rarely used, and then only by certain speakers; possibly a loan pronunciation from SB
- /-l-/: lateral medial consonant; not in SB

4.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (FIGURES REFER TO NOTES IN §4.3.1 BELOW)

4.2.3.1 TONES

These are as in SB.

4.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables	WB	i	we	e	ai	a	o	ui	u	-					
	TV	/i	e	ε	a	ɔ	o	u	ə/						
			1	2											
Closed nasal syllables	WB	in	im	aññ	añ	Yañ	aŋ	an	am	wan	wam	oŋ	uiŋ	un	um
	TV	/i:n		in			an			un		ɔn	ain	u:n	aon/
		7		2			6			5				7	4, 7

Closed stop syllables

WB	<i>it ip</i>	<i>ac Yak</i>	<i>ak at ap</i>	<i>wat wap</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>uik</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>up</i>
TV	/i/	i'	a'	u'	ɔ'	ai'	ú	ao'/
	3	6		5			3	4

4.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

SB	/yw/	/fw/			
WB	<i>rw</i> 8	<i>hrw</i> 8			
TV	/w yw/	/hw f w/			
SB	/c/	/ch/		/ñ/	
WB	<i>ky</i> <i>kr</i> 9	<i>khy</i> <i>khur</i> 9		<i>ñr</i> 9	
TV	/kl c k/	/j 10 khl ch kh/		/ñ ñ/	
SB	/py/	/phy/	/my/	/hmy/	
WB	<i>py</i> <i>pr</i> 11	<i>phy</i> <i>phr</i> 11	<i>my</i> <i>mr</i> 12	<i>hmy</i> <i>hmr</i> 12	
TV	/py pl/	/phy phl/	/my ml by/	/hmy hml by/	

4.3 NOTES

4.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) Words in WB *e* correspond to TV /e/, as for SB, but to TV /i/ if preceded by /w/. For example:

WB	TV	SB	
<i>pe:</i>	/pè/	/pè/	give
<i>re</i>	/ye/	/ye/	water
<i>khwe:</i>	/khwì/	/khwè/	dog
<i>we:</i>	/wì/	/wè/	be far

Two words with *we*, however, were said to have 'old' and 'modern' pronunciations, /wi/ and /we/ respectively, possibly reflecting the influence of SB:

<i>twe:</i>	/twì, twè/	/twè/	ponder
<i>hrwe</i>	/hwi, fwe/	/fwe/	gold

Four other words emerged which were pronounced as in SB:

<i>kwe.</i>	/kwé/	/kwé/	turn
<i>chwe</i>	/shwe/	/shwe/	relative
<i>ṇwe</i>	/ṇwe/	/ṇwe/	silver
<i>we-lī-we-laṇ:</i>	/we-li-we-làn/	/we-li-we-lin/	dawn

(2) WB *aññ*, which gives SB /i/, /e/ or /ɛ/, corresponds regularly with TV /ɛ/:

<i>kraññ</i>	/cɛ/	/ci/	be clear
<i>praññ.</i>	/plɛ/	/pyé/	be full
<i>taññ:</i>	/tɛ/	/tɛ/	stay

A few exceptions were found (6 of 37 words checked, of which the last 3 below are Pali loans):

<i>raññ-rway</i>	/yi-ywɛ/	/yi-ywɛ/	intend
<i>chaññ:pū</i>	/shì-phù/	/shì-bù/	amass
<i>saññ:kham</i>	/θi-khan/	/θi-khan/	forgive
<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nì/	method
<i>winaññ:</i>	/wí-nì/	/wí-nì/	Vinaya
<i>paccaññ:</i>	/pyi'si/	/pyi'si/	thing

One further word, *praññ* 'country', had the regular TV reflex, /pyɛ/, only in certain phrases (e.g. /pyɛ-jin/ 'nat'); otherwise it was TV /pyi/.

The most likely explanation of these exceptions is of course that they are loan pronunciations from SB. This view is supported by the alternative pronunciations of *praññ*, but it is curious that the three Pali loanwords should be irregular.

(3) WB *it*, *ip* merge with WB *i* in TV /í/.

<i>tit</i>	/tí/	/tei'/	be quiet
<i>ti</i>	/tí/	/tí/	be exact
<i>sip</i>	/θí/	/θei'/	put to bed
<i>si</i>	/θí/	/θí/	know

This correspondence is partly paralleled by the merger of WB *ut* with *u* in TV /ú/ (for WB *up* see note (4) below):

<i>thut</i>	/thú/	/thou'/	take out
<i>ahmut</i>	/əhmú/	/əhmou'/	blowing
<i>ahmu</i>	/əhmú/	/əhmú/	case

In spite of the merging of these rhymes, TV appears still to maintain a distinction in cases of juncture: see §4.3.2.1.

(4) WB *un* and *um* correspond to TV /u:n/ and /aon/ respectively, a distinction not found in SB, AR, IT or YW, all of which merge the two rhymes. It is curious that TV does not have a similar distinction between WB *in* and *im*: they merge in TV /i:n/.

<i>kun:</i>	/kù:n/	/kòun/	land
<i>kum:</i>	/kàon/	/kòun/	string together

<i>phun</i>	/phu:ṇ/	/phoun/	dust
<i>phum:</i>	/phəuṇ/	/phòun/	cover

The corresponding distinction between the stop rhymes, WB *ut* and *up*, though it exists, is partly obscured by TV's merger of WB *ut* and *u* (note (3) above), giving TV /ú, ao'/, not the TV */u: ', ao' / that one would have expected:

<i>thut</i>	/thú/	/thou' /	take out
<i>thup</i>	/thao' /	/thou' /	wrap
<i>ut</i>	/ú/	/ou' /	brick
<i>up</i>	/ao' /	/ou' /	cover

Spellings with irregular finals after WB *u* are pronounced in TV as if written with *p*. For example:

<i>dukkha</i>	/dao'khá/	/dou'khá/	suffering
<i>ucca</i>	/ao'sa/	/ou'sa/	thing
<i>kukkā:</i>	/kao'kà/	/kou'kà/	pennant

In one case, TV accords with formal SB rather than colloquial:

<i>ū:</i> (formal)	/ù/	/ù/	further (auxiliary verb)
<i>um:</i> (colloq)	/ù/	/òun/	further (auxiliary verb)

TV seems to treat the word for 'monk' as having an irregular final nasal:

<i>phun:krī:</i>	/phəuṇ-gì/	/phòun-jì/	monk
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This would be consistent with its derivation from Pali *puñña*, assuming a subsequent adjustment from *ñ* to *n* in WB orthography.

(5) As in SB, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* merge in TV to give /an/ and /a' /, or /un/ and /u' / if preceded by *w*. For example:

<i>pran</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	return
<i>lwan</i>	/lun/	/lun/	exceed
<i>kham</i>	/khan/	/khan/	receive
<i>kwam:</i>	/kùn/	/kùn/	betel
<i>kyat</i>	/ca' /	/ca' /	kyat
<i>pwat</i>	/pu' /	/pu' /	rub
<i>khyap</i>	/cha' /	/cha' /	flat
<i>kwap</i>	/ku' /	/ku' /	edge

In TV, however, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* are joined by *aŋ* and *ak*:

<i>apraŋ</i>	/əplan/	/əpyin/	surface
<i>apran</i>	/əplan/	/əpyan/	return
<i>taŋ</i>	/tan/	/tin/	put on
<i>tam</i>	/tan/	/tan/	shaft
<i>phak</i>	/pha' /	/phe' /	leaf
<i>phat</i>	/pha' /	/pha' /	read
<i>tak</i>	/ta' /	/te' /	ascend
<i>tat</i>	/ta' /	/ta' /	know

There are two restrictions on this merger: first, in syllables containing WB *-w*, the TV reflexes of WB *aŋ* and *ak* are exempt from the vowel change that applies to the reflexes of WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap*.

<i>khwaŋ.</i>	/khwán/	/khwín/	opportunity
<i>twaj:</i>	/twàn/	/twín/	hole
<i>khwak</i>	/khwa'/	/khwe'/	bowl

The second restriction is that, after a palatal initial, TV merges WB *aŋ* and *ak* with *añ* and *ac*: see note (6) below.

(6) When WB *aŋ* and *ak* are preceded by a palatal initial, TV merges them with WB *añ* and *ac*. For this purpose palatal initials are:

TV	/j	c	ch	ñ	hñ;	by	py	phy	my	hmy;	z	s	sh;	y	j/
=WB	<i>gy</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>khy</i>	<i>ññ</i>	<i>hññ</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>hmy</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>hy</i>
	<i>gr</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>chr</i>	<i>ŋr</i>	<i>hŋr</i>	<i>br</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>phr</i>	<i>mr</i>	<i>hmr</i>				<i>r</i>	<i>hr</i>

<i>pyaŋ:</i>	/pyìn/	/pyìn/	be lazy
<i>pyañ</i>	/pyin/	/pyin/	timber
<i>rak</i>	/yi'/	/ye'/	day
<i>rac</i>	/yi'/	/yi'/	(do) behind (one)
<i>chaŋ</i>	/shin/	/shin/	elephant
<i>cak</i>	/si'/	/se'/	machine

Three words in WB *ac* which have irregular TV reflexes are:

<i>tac</i>	/té/	/ti'/	one
<i>hnac</i>	/hné/	/hni'/	two
<i>khu-nac</i>	/khun-né/	/khun-ni'/	seven

(7) The three rhymes ending in 'variable nasalisation', here shown as /-ɐ/, seem to differ in the extent to which the nasalisation varies. All three were heard on occasion with faint nasalisation, but in words in TV /-u:ɐ/ (e.g. TV /khu:ɐ/ 'jump', /mù:ɐ/ 'hate'), the nasalisation was usually quite audible. In words in TV /-aɔɐ/, on the other hand (e.g. /saɔɐ/ 'be complete', /laɔɐ/ 'be covered'), it was more often absent. Pronunciations in TV /-i:ɐ/ seemed evenly distributed between the two extremes.

Certain words appeared to be pronounced regularly without nasalisation. These were:

<i>im</i>	/i/	/ein/	house
<i>akhyin</i>	/əkhi/	/əchein/	time
<i>tun:</i>	/tù/	/tòun/	while
<i>mun.</i>	/mú/	/móun/	pastry

(8) The reflexes of WB *rw*, *hrw* were checked for only nine words. Four of these had TV /w, hw/, and four had TV /yw, fw/:

<i>rwā</i>	/wa/	/ywa/	rain; village
<i>rwak</i>	/wa'/	/ywe'/	leaf; carry
<i>rwe:</i>	/wì/	/ywè/	choose
<i>hrwe.</i>	/hwí/	/fwé/	move
<i>arway</i>	/əywe/	/əywe/	size
<i>hrwaŋ</i>	/fwan/	/fwín/	be joyful
<i>hrwam:</i>	/fwùn/	/fwùn/	be juicy
<i>hrwai</i>	/fwè/	/fwè/	be soaked

The remaining example, WB *hrwe* 'gold', was said to have a modern TV pronunciation /fwè/, like SB, and an obsolescent TV pronunciation /hwi/.

Only one word with initial WB *yw* was checked: *ywaŋ*: 'go off course', and this was pronounced TV /y^wàⁿ/.

(9) WB *ky*, *khy* correspond in some cases to TV /c, ch/, as in SB, and in others to TV /k, kh/. For example:

<i>kywan</i>	/cun/	/cun/	slave
<i>kywat</i>	/klu'/	/cu'/	be taken off
<i>khyup</i>	/chao'/	/chou'/	sew
<i>khyoŋ</i> :	/khlòn/	/chàun/	stream

For more examples and a fuller treatment of velar clusters see Okell (1971).

This split does not apply generally to WB *kr*, *khr*, which correspond to TV /c, ch/, not to TV /k, kh/. For example:

<i>krum</i>	/caon/	/coun/	meet
<i>khrac</i>	/chi'/	/chi'/	scratch

There were, however, some exceptions (Okell 1971, §13):

<i>krā</i> :	/klà/	/cà/	between
<i>krit</i>	/klí/	/cei'/	grind
<i>krim</i> :	/kli:ŋ, kìn/	/cèin/	smart

Perhaps WB orthography should have *ky* for these words, though 'between' has *kr* attested in AR.

Both pairs of WB clusters (*ky*, *khy* and *kr*, *khr*) also correspond in a few cases to TV /k, kh/. Among the sets with these correspondences, all but a couple of those with WB *ky*, *khy* can be related to forms with *ki*, *khi* at a stage earlier than WB (Okell 1971, §7). For example:

<i>akhyin</i>	/əkhi:ŋ/	/əchein/	measure
<i>khyī</i>	/khi/	/chi/	carry

There are two cases, however, where WB *khy* = TV /kh/ cannot be referred to a following *i* (Okell 1971, §12):

<i>khyaññ</i>	/khe/	/chi/	tie
<i>khyuiŋ</i>	/khain/	/chain/	lop

The correspondence WB *kr*, *khr* = TV /k, kh/ is found in the following words:

<i>khraññ</i>	/khe/	/chi/	thread
<i>khre</i>	/khe/	/che, chi/	foot
<i>krī</i> :	/kì/	/cì/	be big
<i>krwak</i>	/kwa'/	/cwε'/	rat
<i>kraññ</i> :	/ké/	/cí/	look
<i>akrwe</i> :	/əkwi/	/əcwè/	debt
<i>akrwe</i>	/əkwi/	/əcwe/	small change
<i>krway</i>	/kwe/	/cwε/	be rich
<i>krim</i>	/ki:ŋ/	/cein/	rattan
<i>khroŋ</i> :	/khōn/	/chàun/	throat
<i>khywe</i> :	/khwì/	/chwè/	sweat

(sic MSTK for 'sweat', but the *r* is attested in Old Burmese)

So far, no explanation is available for these sets (Okell 1971, §11).

TV does not have a */ŋl, hŋl/ to match the plosive pairs, but it is just possible to suggest a correspondence WB *ŋr* = TV /ñ, ŋ/ to match the plain velar correspondence of the plosives. My material contains only two examples of TV /ŋ/ in this correspondence, one of them dubious.

<i>ŋri</i>	/ŋí/	/ñí/	be caught
<i>ñit</i>	/ŋí/	/ñei'/	nod
(sic MSTK, perhaps for <i>ŋr</i> ?)			
<i>aŋrim.</i>	/əñí:ŋ/	/añéin/	anyeint
<i>ŋrim</i>	/ñi:ŋ/	/ñein/	be still

(10) The correspondence WB *khy* = TV /ch, khl, kh/ has a further complication in that in TV, as in IT and AR, some of these words are pronounced with TV /ʃ/. For example:

<i>khyan</i>	/chan/	/chan/	leave out
<i>khyam:</i>	/jàn/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>takhyui.</i>	/təchó/	/təchó/	some
<i>khyui</i>	/ʃo/	/cho/	be sweet

No examples were found of WB *khr* = TV /ʃ/, and fuller investigation (Okell 1971, §6) shows that in fact TV /ʃ/ is reserved for words which have *khy* in Old Burmese, and that the regular correspondences between these languages are as follows:

OB	TV	WB	SB
<i>khr</i>	/ch/	<i>khr</i>	/ch/
<i>khy</i>	/ʃ/ or /ch/	<i>khy</i>	
<i>khi</i>	/kh/ or /ch/		
<i>khl</i>	/khl/ or /ch/		

(11) WB *py*, *phy* correspond regularly with TV /py, phy/. For example:

<i>pyak</i>	/pyi'/	/pye'/	perish
<i>pyō</i>	/pyɔ/	/pyɔ/	melt
<i>phyā:</i>	/phyà/	/phyà/	have a fever
<i>phyō</i>	/phyɔ/	/phyɔ/	dissolve

One exception to this correspondence emerged:

<i>pyam</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	fly
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The TV reflexes of WB *pr*, *phr* are divided between TV /py, phy/ and TV /pl, phl/. For example:

<i>pra</i>	/pyá/	/pyá/	show
<i>prā</i>	/plá/	/pya/	ash
<i>proŋ</i>	/pyɔn/	/pyaun/	be smooth
<i>proŋ:</i>	/plòŋ/	/pyàun/	change
<i>phre</i>	/phye/	/phye/	undo
<i>phrai</i>	/phlè/	/phyè/	widen

One example was said to have both pronunciations:

<i>prū:</i>	/pyù, plù/	/pyù/	protrude
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Two further examples, the only ones with TV /i/ (long), had no medial in TV:

<i>prī:</i>	/pì/	/pì, pyì/	finish
<i>prin:</i>	/pì:ṇ/	/pèin/	be dull

(12) WB *my*, *hmy* correspond regularly with TV /my, hmy/. For example:

<i>myā:</i>	/myà/	/myà/	be many
<i>hmya</i>	/hmyá/	/hmyá/	be equal

There was one exception to this correspondence:

<i>hmyac</i>	/hmlì'/	/hmyì'/	bamboo shoot
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The TV reflexes of WB *mr*, *hmr*, however, are not twofold as for the plosives, but (startlingly) threefold: TV /my, ml, by/ and TV /hmy, hml, by/. For example:

<i>mrui.</i>	/myó/	/myó/	town
<i>mrac</i>	/mli'/	/myì'/	river
<i>mrān</i>	/byan/	/myan/	be fast
<i>hmrā:</i>	/hmyà/	/hmyà/	trap
<i>hmrup</i>	/hmlao'/	/hmyou'/	bury
<i>hmrāṇ.</i>	/byín/	/hmyín/	raise

There were a few exceptions:

(a) two words that had no medial in TV:

<i>amrit</i>	/əmi'/	/əmei'/	edge
<i>ahmre:</i>	/əhmè/	/əhmè/	film

(b) one word which was said to be pronounced with either /l/ or no medial:

<i>mrin</i>	/mli:ṇ, mi:ṇ/	/mein/	relish
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(c) one word which could have either /y/ or /l/:

<i>mrāt</i>	/mya', mla'/	/mya'/	be noble
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(d) and one which had /bw/:

<i>amrī:</i>	/bwì/	/əmì, əmyì/	tail
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All these exceptions except *mrāt* are evidently due to the presence of the vowel *i* in Old Burmese. *Mrāt* is probably a case of SB pronunciation ousting an earlier TV one.

In view of the unusual nature of the TV /by/ reflex I list below the remaining words for which it was given.

<i>mrañṇ:</i>	/byè/	/myì/	taste
<i>mrai</i>	/byè/	/myè/	be stable
<i>mrwe</i>	/bwi/	/mwe/	snake
<i>mrō</i>	/byɔ/	/myɔ/	behold
<i>mraṇ</i>	/byin/	/myin/	see
<i>mraṇ:</i>	/byìn/	/myìn/	horse
<i>mraṇ.</i>	/byín/	/myín/	be high

<i>mraññ</i>	/bye/	/myi/	sound
<i>mrak</i>	/byi'/	/mye'/	grass

Interestingly, this correspondence is found once in SB:

<i>tam-mrak-caññ:</i>	/təbye'si/	broom
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It is perhaps reflected in two names:

<i>Mr̥it</i>	/Bei'/	Mergui
<i>Mran-mā</i>	/Bəma/	Burmese

4.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

4.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing occurs in TV in much the same circumstances as in SB, but only with the plain initials, not with both plain and aspirate as in SB. For example:

<i>apaŋ</i>	/əpan/	/əpin/	plant
<i>kywan:paŋ</i>	/cùn-ban/	/cùn-bin/	teak tree
<i>sac-paŋ</i>	/θi'pan/	/θi'pin/	tree
<i>phre:phre:</i>	/phyè-phyè/	/phyè-byè/	slowly
<i>takhu-khu</i>	/təkhú-khú/	/təkhú-gú/	something
<i>ṇā:choŋ</i>	/ṇā-shon/	/ṇā-zaun/	five buildings
<i>sum:khyap</i>	/θàon-cha'/	/θòun-ja'/	three flat things
<i>sum:thaññ</i>	/θàon-thè/	/θòun-dè/	three garments

TV /θ/ appears to be voiced irregularly by some speakers and not at all by others.

The TV voicing pattern reveals some aspirates not indicated by WB orthography:

<i>bon:bī</i>	/pòn-phi/	/bàun-bi/	trousers
<i>wam:puik</i>	/wùn-phai'/	/wùn-bai'/	stomach
<i>chaññ:pī</i>	/shì-phù/	/shì-bù/	amass
<i>rwe-pō</i>	/ye-pho/	/ye-bo/	plane

Some words in SB have voiced initials even when not in close juncture. Most of their counterparts in TV were the same in this respect, but there were some exceptions:

<i>jhe:</i>	/shè/	/zè/	market
<i>jhī:sī:</i>	/shì-θi/	/zì-ḍi/	wild plum
<i>dhā:</i>	/thà/	/dà/	knife
<i>khoŋ:</i>	/khòn/	/gàun/	head
<i>khoŋ:bhī:</i>	/khòn-phwì/	/bì/	comb
<i>khyay:</i>	/jīn/	/jīn/	ginger

An interesting feature concerning voicing is that though WB *ut* and *u* merge in TV /ú/, and WB *it*, *ip* and *i* in TV /i/, the TV reflexes of WB *ut*, *it* and *ip* seem to have the same effect on following voiceable initials as if they were still stop syllables. For example:

<i>arip-koŋ:</i>	/əyí-kòn/	/əyei'kàun/	good shade
<i>tit-tit</i>	/tí-tí/	/tei'tei'/	quiet
cf. <i>ti-ti</i>	/tí-dí/	/tí-dí/	exact

<i>cut-cut</i>	/sú-sú/	/sou'sou'/	shabby
cf. <i>tacu-cu</i>	/təzú-zú/	/təzú-zú/	some group (/əsú/)

4.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening occurs in TV in the same way, and with the same voicing pattern, as in SB. For example:

<i>takoŋ</i>	/təgɔn/	/təgaun/	one animal
<i>takhu</i>	/təkhú/	/təkhú/	one item

Two differences emerged: one is that TV /hné/ 'two', unlike its SB counterpart /hni'/, does not weaken in compounds. For example:

<i>hnac-khwak</i>	/hné-khwa'/	/hnəkhwə'/	two cups
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The other is that a number of words with weak syllables in SB have counterparts in TV with no matching syllable at all. For example:

<i>wā:phui:</i>	/phò/	/wəbò/	kind of bamboo
<i>kyī:kan:takoŋ</i>	/klì-gàn-gɔn/	/cì-gàn təgaun/	a crow
<i>takhā</i>	/kha/	/təkha/	again
<i>hawā</i>	/wa/	/həwa/	whatsit
<i>capā:</i>	/bà/	/səbà/	paddy
<i>cakā:</i>	/gà/	/səgà/	word
<i>thamaŋ:</i>	/hmàn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice
<i>pukhak</i>	/kha'/	/pəkhə'/	cradle
<i>hṇak-pyo-sī:</i>	/byò-θì/	/ṇəpyò-ṭì/	banana
<i>sī-taŋ:ne.</i>	/dàn-né/	/θədìn-né/	sabbath day
<i>aphit-ne.</i>	/phí-né/	/əphei'né/	eve of sabbath
<i>sa-krā:</i>	/jà/	/θəjà/	sugar
<i>sakā</i>	/ga/	/θəga/	hardened crude sugar
<i>tarā:nā</i>	/yà na/	/təyà na/	listen to a sermon

4.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in TV as in SB. For example:

<i>sū</i>	/θu/	/θu/	he
<i>sū.rañṇ:cā:</i>	/θú yè-zà/	/θú yì-zà/	his sweetheart
<i>chay</i>	/shɛ/	/shɛ/	ten
<i>chay.le:</i>	/shé-lè/	/shé-lè/	fourteen

Creaky tone is also induced in TV by the suffix /ló/ 'plural', which corresponds grammatically, and perhaps etymologically, to SB /tó/:

<i>sū</i>	/θu/	/θu/	he
	/θú-ló/	/θu-dó/	they
<i>naŋ</i>	/nan/	/nin/	you (sing.)
	/nán-ló/	/nin-dó/	you (plur.)

There is also an induced heavy tone in TV, which has no counterpart in SB. It occurs in syllables which would otherwise have low tone, in the following three kinds of context:

(a) when verbs are repeated to form a subordinate expression, for example:

<i>grim-grim</i>	/ŋiːŋ-ŋiːŋ/	/ŋein-ŋein/	quiet
<i>mr̥an-mr̥an</i>	/byàn-byan/	/myan-myan/	quickly
<i>phrū-phrū</i>	/phlū-phlu/	/phyu-byu/	white
<i>kroŋ toŋ-toŋ</i>	/cɔŋ tɔŋ-dɔŋ/	/caun taun-daun/	bemused
<i>hman-hman</i>	/hmàn-hman kàn-gan/	/hman-hman kan-gan/	regularly
but <i>tō-tō</i>	/tɔ-dɔ/	/tɔ-dɔ/	quite

(b) when nouns are repeated to form a diminutive, for example:

TV base		TV diminutive	
/phwà-o/	grandmother	/ò-o/	granny
/əfo/	sweet	/ʃò-fo/	sweetie
/mɛ/	mother	/mè-mɛ/	mummy
/əfin/	lord	/ʃin-fin/	lordling (i.e. monk)
but /əphe/	father	/phe-phe/	daddy

(c) in some compounds, for example:

WB	TV	SB	
<i>cham</i>	/shan/	/shan/	hair
<i>cham-paŋ</i>	/shàn-ban/	/shəbin/	hair

(This was in fact the only example I came across, but it seems likely that further investigation would throw up some more.)

There is of course no induced heavy tone in syllables which are creaky or heavy in other contexts. For example:

<i>koŋ:koŋ:</i>	/kɔŋ-gɔŋ/	/kàun-gàun/	well
<i>taññ.taññ.</i>	/tɛ-dɛ/	/tɛ-dɛ/	straight

4.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following notes cover some of the particles and common words found in TV but not used, or differently used, in SB. Entries are listed alphabetically, and each entry includes a grammatical classification, one or more SB equivalents, some examples, and occasionally a note on other points of interest.

Some examples are taken from the texts of which transcriptions are given in §4.4 below. These examples are given references: for example 1.27 = text 1, sentence 27. Other examples were suggested by informants, or encountered in conversation, and are labelled 'inf'.

The grammatical classifications are the same as those in Okell (1969), and are abbreviated as indicated in the foreword above.

(1) /a/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/; sometimes weakened before TV /lɛ/ to /ə/

TV /sho-a/ 1.27, 1.37, and so on, SB /sho-yin/ 'if'

TV /la'klàonklàon fí-a, kəθe cə'-sá/ 1.62
 SB /phòunməthein fí-yin, təshe cau'-lai'ta
 camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL
 Demons are terrified if there's camphor around.

TV /kəθe nain-jin-a-lè/ 1.62
 SB /təshe nain-jin-yin-lè/
 demon overcome-want-if-also
 and if you want to overpower a demon

TV /nan mə-yaon-a-lè/ 1.33
 SB /nin mə-youn-yin-lè/
 you not-trust-if-also
 and if you don't trust me

(2) /á/ verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/; negated sentence-final verbs also occur with Ø marker

TV /sà-dí-lè mə-ku:n-á/ 1.8
 SB /sà-ló-lè mə-koun-bù/
 eat-ing-also not-run.out-VSMK
 and (they) couldn't eat all of it

TV /θə-myò mə-caon-phù-á/ 1.29
 SB /da-myò mə-coun-bù-bù/
 that-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK
 I've never met anything like it.

Apparently also used in verb sentence attributes (one example only):

TV /hlu'-mə-wì-á wa-tə-wa/ 1.11
 SB /θei'-mə-wè-dé ywa-tə-ywa/
 much-not-be.far-REL village-one-village
 a village not far away

Said to be used also with positive verbs on occasion:

TV /pyò-á/ inf
 SB /pyò-də/
 say-VSMK
 (he) said

(3) /be-hna-ε/ sentence-final postposition = SB/pó-le/

TV /wa-(ð)à sho-myò-bəhnaε/ 1.4
 SB /ywa-lè shodé-hamyò-bóle/
 village-little say-kind-you.know
 a little kind of village, you know

TV /kha-dàin-myò-bəhnaε/ 1.12
 SB /kha-dàin-lo-bóle/
 time-every-kind-you.know
 just as usual, you see

(4) /cón/ subordinate marker with noun and verb for complement = SB /cáun, ló/; voiceable;
see also /tí/

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-----------------|
| TV | /phɛ-ha | phɪi'-cón/ 1.58 |
| SB | /ba | phɪi'-ló/ |
| | which-thing | happen-because |
| | why? | |
| TV | /chà-jón | hmú-á/ 1.65 |
| SB | /təchà-jáun | hmou'-phù/ |
| | other-because | not.be.so-VSMK |
| | It is for no other reason. | |

(5) /cón/ ?sentence-medial postposition, only in /lè-jón-bè/ = SB /lè-bè/; voiceable

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| TV | /θɛ | phɪi'-lè-jón-bè/ 1.56 |
| SB | /da | phɪi'ta-né-lè-bè/ |
| | that | happen-also-because-EMP |
| | after that happened | |
| TV | /hao-gá-lè-jón-bè | mé-bì-dó-a/ 1.55 |
| SB | /ho-gá-lè-bè | mé-pì-dó-ga/ |
| | that-SUBJ-also-because-EMP | faint-finish-when-time |
| | and this one fainted away and ... | |
| TV | /θɛ ... | wa-ðà-á-lè-jón-bè/ 1.64 |
| SB | /di ... | ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè/ |
| | this | village-little-SUBJ-also-because-EMP |
| | and this village | |

(6) /ɛ/ subordinate marker with noun for complement = SB /ha, ká/; possibly from TV */θɛ/
= WB *saññ*

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| TV | /θɛ-wa-á | lu-de-ɛ/ 1.5 |
| SB | /di-ywa-gá | lu-de-ha/ |
| | this-village-from | person-PL-SUBJ |
| | the people from this village | |
| TV | /θu-ɛ | shìn-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè/ 1.36 |
| SB | /θu-ha | shìn-chá-la-da-bè/ |
| | he-SUBJ | descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP |
| | He ran down. | |

(7) /ɛ/ verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ/; presumably from TV */θɛ/ = WB *saññ*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------------|
| TV | /tɔ-dɔ | kì-ɛ/ 1.6 |
| SB | /tɔ-dɔ | cì-dɛ/ |
| | quite-ADV | be.big-VSMK |
| | (It) was pretty big. | |
| TV | /θu | la-ɛ/ 1.12 |
| SB | /θu | la-dɛ/ |
| | he | come-VSMK |
| | He came. | |

TV /khe-pè-lai'-ε/ 1.35
 SB /chi-pè-lai'-tε/
 tie-give-just-VSMK
 (She) tied.

(8) /hàn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yìn/

TV /pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn/ 1.16
 SB /pyò-yìn-pyò-yìn/
 talk-ing-talk-ing
 talking on and on

(9) /khàn/ special head noun = SB /səya/; presumably as WB *akhaṇ*: (only one example)

TV /yε-khàn mò-khàn/ 1.16
 SB /yi-zəya mò-zəya/
 laugh-thing laugh-thing
 jokes

(10) /hñin/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /taun/

TV /θə-hmyá-hñin mə-ca-á/ 1.45 (sole example)
 SB /di-lau'-taun mə-ca-bù/
 this-much-even not-last-VSMK
 (It) shouldn't last as long as this.

(11) /phí/ auxiliary verb = formal SB /phí/: no precise counterpart in the colloquial.

TV /lao'-phí-mε/ inf
 SB /lou'-pá-mε/
 do-EMP-VSMK
 (I) will do (it).

(12) /ké/ auxiliary verb = SB /cá/, voiceable; apparently no connection with TV /ké/ = SB /cí/ 'look'

TV /nà-thon-gé/ 1.2
 SB /nà-thaun-já/
 ear-set.up-PL
 listen

TV /plan-ǝwà-gé-be-yɔ/ 3.2
 SB /pyan-ǝwà-já-be-dó/
 return-go-PL-EUPH-now
 Be off home with you!

(13) /le/ sentence-final postposition = SB /le/

TV /ŋa caonjai'-tù-le/ 1.1
 SB /ŋa counjai'-tòun-le/
 I encounter-while-you.know
 while I have the chance

TV /Dəwε-á ne-bì-le/ 1.4
 SB /Dəwε-gá ne-bì-le/
 Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know
 from Tavoy

(14) /le/ auxiliary verb = SB /le/ but used more widely in TV

- TV /θe-à-le-ε/ 1.10
 SB /θe-ðwà-le-dε/
 die-go-EUPH-VSMK
 (They all) died.
- TV /pyi'-khlá-à-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.24
 SB /pyi'-chá-ðwà-le-da-bè/
 throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
 (He) dropped (it) down.
- TV /bàon-gənè lè-le-ε/ 1.51
 SB /bòun-gənè lè-le-dε/
 bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK
 (He) came down with a thump.
- TV /pyɔ'-θwà-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.56
 SB /pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè/
 disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
 (She) disappeared.

(15) /lo/ sentence-final postposition = SB /no/

- TV /pyð-pyá-mε-lo/ 1.1 (sole example)
 SB /pyð-pyá-mε-no/
 say-show-VSMK-right?
 (I'll tell you, shall I?)

(16) /lò/ sentence-final postposition = SB /là/ cf. formal SB /lò/; and TV /nù/ = SB /lè/

- TV /cena'-pə-lò/ 1.22
 SB /cena'-pə-là/
 be.satisfied-VSMK-Q
 Are you satisfied?
- TV /kan-kòn-lò phe-lò mə-θí-á/ 1.6
 SB /kan-kàun-là ba-là mə-θí-bù/
 fate-be.good-Q what-Q not-know-VSMK
 (I'm) not sure whether it was good luck or not.
- TV /hmú-lò/ 1.3
 SB /hmou'-là/
 not.be.so-Q
 Isn't it?

(17) /ló/ auxiliary noun = SB /tó/; induces creaky tone in preceding syllable

- TV /nán-ló/ 1.1
 SB /nin-dó/
 you-PL
 you (plural)
- TV /θú-ló/ 1.5
 SB /θu-dó/

he-PL
they (plural)

(18) /máalò/ verb-sentence marker = SB /pa-là/

TV /la'klàoklàn-a kəθe nain-máalò/ (1.60 – sole example)
SB /phòunməθein-ha təshe nain-balà/
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL
So demons are afraid of camphor!

(19) /myò/ marker noun, with noun attribute and verb sentence attribute in /(θ)u/, = SB /lo/

TV /θè pɔ'-(θ)u-myò əθan cà-ɔn/ 1.38
SB /θè pau'-θə-lo əθan cà-aun/
urine pass-REL-kind sound hear-so.that
so as to make a sound like urinating

TV /phə-myò lao'-nù/ 1.47
SB /bɛ-lo lou'-lè/
what-kind do-Q
What did he do?

TV /θə-myò kəθe lai'-ɛ/ 1.58
SB /di-lo təshe lai'-tɛ/
this-kind demon chase-VSMK
A demon chased (me) like this.

(20) /ná/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and ?attribute = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

TV /θɛ-ná-bè/ 1.9
SB /da-né-bè/
that-with-EMP
with that

TV /cò-ná khe/ 1.33
SB /cò-né chi/
rope-with tie
tie with a rope

(21) /ná/ verb-sentence marker = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

TV /mə-ŋo-ba-ná/ 2.2.1
SB /mə-ŋo-ba-né/
not-cry-POL-VSMK
Don't cry!

(22) /nù/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lè/, ? cf. formal SB /nì/

TV /phə-myò lao'-nù/ 1.27, 47
SB /bɛ-lo lou'-lè/
what-kind do-Q
What did (she) do?

TV	/phɛ-ha	phyi'-cón ...	yan-ʃa-bì	mə-nain-nù/ 1.58
SB	/ba	phyi'-ló ...	yan-ʃa-bì	mə-nain-ðələ/
		which-thing	happen-because	fight-seek-ing
				not-overcame-Q
				Why could (she) not harm (me)?
TV	/phɛ-ha-nù/	inf		
SB	/bɛ-ha-lè/			
		which-thing-Q		
		what?		

(23) /ɔ̀n-ñɔ̀n/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /θəlo/

TV	/θwà-ɔ̀nñɔ̀n/	inf (sole example)
SB	/θwà-ðəlo/	
		go-like
		as (he) goes

(24) /pí/ ?verb-sentence marker = SB /ta/; two examples only, both in /V-pí-bè/; voiceable

TV	/Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn	mə-θí	ne-bí-bè/ 1.55
SB	/Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn	mə-θí-bè	ne-da-bè/
	person-that-person-that	not-know-without	lie-VSMK-EMP
	(He) lay there	oblivious.	
TV	/lè-ne-bí-bè/	1.52	
SB	/lè-ne-da-bè/		
	fall-stay-VSMK-EMP		
	(He) fell down.		

(25) /θɛ-mà θu/ = SB /θú-ha θu/ = his-thing-he 'of his own accord' (1.43 – sole example)

(26) /θu/ special head noun and attributive verb-sentence marker = SB /ta, tɛ, θə/; voiceable by some speakers; often slurred in pronunciation to TV /u/

TV	/pè-ðu	pyi'sì/	inf
SB	/pè-dé	pyi'sì/	
		give-REL	thing
			the things (he) gave (you)
TV	/pa-la-(ð)u	pəlwi/	1.24
SB	/pa-la-dé	pəlwe/	
		bring-come-REL	flute
			the flute (he) had brought with (him)
TV	/weliwelàn	phyi'-la-(ð)u	əkha-ma/ 1.56
SB	/weliwelìn	phyi'-la-dé	əkha-hma/
	dawn	happen-come-REL	time-at
			when dawn broke
TV	/pyɔ̀-(ð)u-za/	1.16	
SB	/pyɔ̀-dé-ha/		
		say-REL-thing	
		what (they) said	

TV /yu-shɔn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè/ 1.7
 SB /yu-shaun-ðwà-da-bè/
 take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP
 (They) took (it) away.

TV /sɔ̌-zɔ̌-á wɛ-ðu phɛ thà-nù/ inf
 SB /sɔ̌-zɔ̌-gá wɛ-da bɛ-hma thà-lè/
 early-at buy-thing where put-Q
 Where did you put the things you bought earlier?

(27) /tí/ and /tí-jón/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /ló, V-té-ətwe'/;
 voiceable

TV /wan-lai'-tí mǎ-yá-á/ 1.53
 SB /win-lai'-ló mǎ-yá-bù/
 enter-through-ing not-succeed-VSMK
 (She) couldn't get inside.

TV /sà-dí-lè mǎ-ku:n-á/ 1.8
 SB /sà-ló-lè mǎ-koun-bù/
 eat-ing-also not-exhaust-VSMK
 and (they) couldn't eat all of (it)

TV /θu θí-díjón əcàn plè-ɛ/ 1.43
 SB /θu θí-déətwe' ətìn pyè-dɛ/
 he know-because forcefully run-VSMK
 Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.

TV /kəθe cɔ'-ɔn sho-díjón/ 1.63
 SB /təshe cau'-aun sho-ló/
 demon fear-so.that say-because
 in the belief that demons would be frightened

(28) /ù/ auxiliary verb = formal SB /ù/, colloquial /òun/

TV /ne-ù/ 1.58
 SB /ne-òun/
 stay-yet
 Wait a minute!

TV /gà pyɔ̌-ne-yá-ù-mɛ/ 1.20
 SB /səgà pyɔ̌-ne-yá-òun-mɛ/
 word talk-stay-must-more-VSMK
 (You)'ve got to go on talking.

TV /ŋa shìn-kɔ'-ù-mɛ/ 1.25
 SB /ŋa shìn-kau'-òun-mɛ/
 I descend-get-more-VSMK
 I'll just pop down and fetch (it).

(29) /za/ semi-bound noun = SB /ha/

TV /θú-ló pyḑ-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.16

SB /θu-dó pyḑ-dé-ha-ha/
he-PL talk-REL-thing-SUBJ
their talk

TV /θwà-bì nà-ḑà-phē-ḑà hmyà-(ð)u-za-gò/ 1.5

SB /θwà-bì nà-lè-ba-lè hmyà-dé-ha-gò/
go-and fish-little-what-little catch-REL-thing-EMP
They'd gone to catch a bit of fish.

TV /θəma-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.45

SB /di-lo-ha-ha/
this-like-thing-SUBJ
this kind of thing

(30) [zero] = SB /phù/; see also TV /á/

TV /mə-phyi'/ 1.29

SB /mə-phyi'-phù/
not-work
It's no good.

TV /wan-dí-á-lè mə-yá/ 1.54

SB /win-ló-gá-lè mə-yá-bù/
enter-ing-SUBJ-also not-succeed
and (she) couldn't get inside

4.3.4 VOCABULARY

4.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

4.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

TV	SB gloss	
/bó/	/phya/	mat
/khwá-bó'/	/təgəbau'/	doorway
/hè-lò/	/ya-win sín-ò/	large glazed jar
/tə'ò/	/sín-ò/	(small) glazed jar
/ka'pá/	/pau'shein/	axe cf. Malay <i>kapak</i> 'axe'

4.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

TV	SB gloss	
/j'i'θi/	/θəyε'θi/	mango
/jú-ban/	/ŋəyou'pin/	chillie plant
/la'klàon-klàon/	/phòun-məθein/	camphor
/pò-ni-gà/	/pəywe'shei'/	ant
/cha-chin/	/kha-jin/	red ant
cf. Malay <i>chaching</i> 'earthworm', or perhaps irregular reflex		

4.3.4.1.3 MISCELLANEOUS

TV SB gloss

/klàn/	/thun-yè/	ridge (between furrows in hoed field)
/byan/	/ŋwe/	money, cash
/ka'kwi/	/əcwe/	money, cash
/kəθe/	/təshe/	ghost, demon

cf. Thai *krasŷy* 'ghost, spirit' (female, having head and entrails only, leaves excrement after visit)

TV SB gloss

/si'/	/cɛ'/	be cooked
/hmwa'/	/phòun/	cover, hang over
/-θà/	/-kələ/	small
/phá-sú/	/kaun-gələ/	young boy
/mí-sú/	/kaun-mələ/	young girl
/wɛ-θà/	/kaun-mələ/	young girl
/wí-ná/	/θɛ'θɛ'/, /əcàun-mé/	without good reason (as a child in a tantrum)

cf. Malay *wenang* 'arbitrary'?

/gan-zà/ /əpɔ/, /əsi'/ reserve, supernumerary
(as extra man in football team, bad banana thrown into bargain; cf. Malay *ganti* 'substitute, something exchanged')

/nò/ /maV-phù/, etc. 'no' apparently a loan from English

4.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

TV	SB gloss		TV form requires *SB
/té/	/ti'/	one	/té/
/hné/	/hni'/	two	/hné/
/khun-né/	/khun-ni'/	seven	/khun-né/
/hmàn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice	/hmìn/, /hmàn/
/hé/ (rural pron.)	/jɪ/	exist	/hé/
/hmé/	/məjɪ/, /mé/	not exist	/hmé/
/kho'/	/khou'/	chop, slash	/khau'/

4.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

4.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

TV SB

/pwè/	/pɪ/	end, finish
	cf. /pwè/	be past season
/tá/	/cin/	ache
	cf. /tá/	long for, call upon
/shì-làon/	/khə̀dàun cai'/	gird loins (with lon-gyi)
	cf. /shì/	wear, tie round
	and /lòun/	be round

/ya'/	/co/, /khɔ/, /pín/ cf. /ya'/	summon, meet stand, stop
/na'kì-pha'hnwè/	/phənwè-ga/ cf. /(mə)nɛ'/ /(θə)bɛ'(kha)/ /(phə)nwè/	the day after the day after tomorrow morning day after tomorrow day after day after tomorrow
/na'kì-pha'/	/thəbɛ'kha/	day after tomorrow
/na'kì-tain-kha/	/mənɛ'phan/ cf. /tain/; /kha/	tomorrow come to; time
/na'kì-dù-á/	/məné-gá/ cf. /-tòun-gá/	yesterday (past time)
/na'kì-pha'tù-á/	/dəmyan mané-gá/ cf. (as above)	day before yesterday
/(kwè tə)wi/	/(cwè tə)ou'/ cf. /əywe/	herd (of water buffalo) retinue, attendants
/ka'/	/ci/ cf. /kɛ'/	granary wicker lining for paddy cart
/ye-an/	/ye-ò/ cf. /in(-down)/	water pot cooking pan
/pla'/	/nā/ cf. /pyɛ'/	trick, deceive joke
/mò/	/mù/ cf. /mò/	be intoxicated be tired
/byi'sè kha/	/təbyɛ'sì hlɛ'/ cf. /kha/	sweep, wield broom shake
/hlè-zè kha/	/təbyɛ'sì hlɛ'/	sweep, wield broom
/Pəgan-θà/	/Bəma/ cf. /Pəgan-ðà/	Burmese native of Pagan

4.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

TV	SB		SB	
/bɔn pí/		dam up	cf. /baun/; /pei'/	limit; close
/í mwí/	/ei' pyɔ/	sleep	cf. /mwé-ya/	mattress

4.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

TV	SB	
/θɛ/	/di/ (cf. WB <i>saññ</i>)	this
/hao/	/ho/	that
/phɛ/	/bɛ/	which?
/θɛ-ma-θu/ > /θəma-u/	/da/	this (thing)
/hao-ma-θu/ > /hao-ma-u/	/həwa/	that (thing)
/phɛ-ha/ > /phya/	/ba, bɛ-ha/	which (thing)?

4.4 TEXTS

The following texts are transcriptions of some of the recordings made in Tavoy by Û Cō Min. The first is the folktale, told to a couple of young employees, and the remainder are chants and songs.

The transcription is phonemic, except that where the speaker uses a pair of allophones (as in /pao, paon/ or /-dó, -ḍ/), I write the variant which seems closer to the actual pronunciation at that point on the tape. The suffixes /-θu/ and /-θà/ alternate with /-u/ and /-à/, but in these two cases I transcribe the latter /-(θ)u/ and /-(θ)à/ as these forms are not closely paralleled in SB and might otherwise be confusing.

The few brief interventions by the listeners to the folktale are omitted in the transcription, and abandoned phrases, where the speaker corrects himself, are put in square brackets.

4.4.1 TAVOYAN TEXT NO.1 – HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY.

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – nán-ló-le ၵာ-ခၢၼ်ၵါး-တဲ-လဲ
 Má Khe, Má Nú – nin-dó-le ၵာ-ခၢၼ်ၵါး-တၢၼ်-လဲ
 Ma Khe Ma Nu you-PL-you.know I-encounter-while-you.know
 hao-Dəwe – hao-fèfè-á paon-(ḍ)à-baon pyḍpyá-mɛ-lo.
 hao-Dəwe – hao-fèfè-gá poun-lè-təboun pyḍpyá-mɛ-no.
 that-Tavoy that-past-from story-little-story tell-VSMK-right?
2. Nà-thon-gé.
 Nà-thaun-já.
 ear-set.up-PL
3. èḍəma-(ḍ)u pao-á-dḍa ၵိ, hmú-lò.
 èdi-ha poun-gá-dḍga ၵိ-ḍɛ, hmou'-là.
 that-thing story-SUBJ-as.for be not.be.so-Q
4. ɛ. Dəwe-á ne-bì-le θàon-main-lo' kwa-(ḍ)u-ma
 ɛ. Dəwe-gá ne-bì-le θoun-main-lau' əkwa-hma
 yes Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know three-mile-about be.far-thing-at
 wa-(ḍ)à sho-myò-behnae – i-je [həma(ḍ)u –] shé-lè-ṇà-shon
 ywa-lè shodé-hamyò-bḍ-le – ein-je [hawa –] shé-lè-ṇà-zaun
 village-small say-kind-you.know house-count [umm] ten-four-five-house
 wa-(ḍ)à-myò-tə-zú ၵိ-ɛ.
 ywa-lè-myò-tə-ywa ၵိ-ḍɛ.
 village-small-kind-one-group be-VSMK
5. è. Tə-né-dḍa θɛ-wa-á-lu-de-ɛ
 è. Tə-né-dḍga di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha
 yes one-day-as.for this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ
 [həma-(ḍ)u –] kan-kḍn-(ḍ)u-bè sho-yá-mɛ-behnae –
 [həwa –] kan-kàun-ḍɛ-bè sho-yá-mɛ-bḍle –
 [umm] fate-be.good-VSMK-EMP say-must-VSMK-you.know

0ú-ló 0wà-bì ɲà-ðà-phɛ-ðà hmyà-(ð)u-za-gò-
 0u-dó 0wà-bì ɲà-lè-ba-lè hmyà-dé-ha-gò -
 he-PL go-and fish-little-what-little catch-REL-thing-ACC

lànban-tə-khɔn yá-la-ɛ.
 ɲəlinbàn-tə-gaun yá-la-dɛ.
 eel-one-fish get-come-VSMK

6. 0ɛ-dóɔ 0ɛ-lànban-á-lè - 0ú-ló-bè kan-kòn-lò-phɛ-lò
 Di-dóga di-ɲəlinbàn-gá-lè - 0u-dó-bè kan-kàun-là-ba-là
 this-then this-eel-SUBJ-also he-PL-EMP luck-be.good-Q-what-Q

mə-0í-á - tɔ-dɔ kì-ɛ.
 mə-0í-bù - tɔ-dɔ cì-dɛ.
 not-know-VSMK quite-ADV be.big-VSMK

7. 0ú-ló yu-shɔn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè - 0ɛ-lànban-o.
 0u-dó yu-shaun-ðwà-da-bè - di-ɲəlinbàn-go.
 he-PL take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP this-eel-ACC

8. 0ɛ-dóɔ tə-i-thɔn-dɛ sà-dí-lè mə-ku:n-á.
 Di-dóga tə-ein-daun-dɛ sà-ló-lè mə-koun-bù.
 this-then one-house-set.up-only eat-ing-also not-use.up-VSMK

9. 0ɛ-ná-bè [à -] 0ú-ló shé-lè-ɲà-shɔn
 Da-né-bè [à -] 0u-dó shé-lè-ɲà-zaun
 this-with-EMP [umm] he-PL ten-four-five-house

fí-(ð)u [i -] i-zú-àlàon 0u-di'-ɲa-bain-behnæ
 fí-dé [ein -] ein-zú-àloun 0u-tədi'-ɲa-təbain-bóle
 be-REL [house] house-group-all he-lump-I-piece-you.know

tə-kha hmyá-pì-dóɔ, wàin-pì-dóɔ, 0ɛ-lànban-tə-khɔn
 tə-kha hmyá-pì-dóga, wàin-pì-dóga, di-ɲəlinbàn-tə-gaun
 one-time share-finish-when gather-finish-when this-eel-one-fish

sà-lai'-mí-(ð)u-bé.

sà-lai'-mí-da-bè.

eat-through-happen-VSMK-EMP

10. 0ɛ-bì-sho-bè [0ɛ-] ñín-khàn-pha' klá-sho-bè
 Pì-dó-sho-bè [di-] ñá-gìn-be' cá-sho-bè
 finish-when-say-EMP night-time-side fall-say-EMP

tə-kha-dè 0ɛ-wa-á-lu-de-ɛ tə-yɔ'-mə-can
 tə-kha-dè di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha tə-yau'-mə-can
 one-time-only this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ one-person-not-omit

kalá-wùn-yòga phyi'-pì-dóɔ àlàon wùn-klá-bì
 kalá-wùn-yòga phyi'-pì-dóga àloun wùn-cá-bì
 time-stomach-disease happen-finish-when all stomach-fall-and

0ɛ-à-le-ɛ.

0ɛ-ðwà-lè-dɛ.

die-go-EUPH-VSMK

11. $\theta\epsilon\text{-}\acute{a}khi\text{-}ma$ $\theta\epsilon\text{-}wa\text{-}o$ $n\acute{e}\text{-}zin\text{-}n\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{a}in$ $la\text{-}la\text{-}b\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}a$
 $Di\text{-}\acute{a}chein\text{-}hma$ $di\text{-}ywa\text{-}go$ $n\acute{e}\text{-}zin\text{-}n\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{a}in$ $la\text{-}la\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}ga$
 this-time-at this-village-to day-line-day-every come-come-finish-when
 $\theta\epsilon\text{-}lu\text{-}byo\text{-}l\acute{e}\text{-}ne\text{-}(\delta)u\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}y\acute{o}'$ $f\acute{i}\text{-}\epsilon$ – [$\theta\epsilon\text{-}n\acute{a}$ –]
 $di\text{-}lu\text{-}byo\text{-}l\acute{e}\text{-}ne\text{-}\delta u\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}yau'$ $f\acute{i}\text{-}d\epsilon$ – [$da\text{-}n\acute{e}$ –]
 this-man-young-visit-stay-person-one-person be-VSMK [that-with]
 $hlu'\text{-}m\grave{a}\text{-}w\grave{i}\text{-}\acute{a}$ $wa\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}wa\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $lu\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}y\acute{o}'$.
 $\theta\epsilon i'\text{-}m\grave{a}\text{-}w\grave{e}\text{-}d\acute{e}$ $ywa\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}ywa\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $lu\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}yau'$.
 very-not-be.far-REL village-one-village-from-EMP person-one-person
12. $\theta\epsilon\text{-}d\acute{o}$ θu $la\text{-}(\delta)u\text{-}b\acute{e}$ –
 $Di\text{-}d\acute{o}$ θu $la\text{-}da\text{-}b\grave{e}$ –
 this-then he come-VSMK-EMP
 $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}hna\epsilon$, $n\acute{e}\text{-}zin\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ θu $la\text{-}\epsilon$.
 $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}lo\text{-}b\acute{o}l\epsilon$, $n\acute{e}\text{-}zin\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{e}$ θu $la\text{-}d\epsilon$.
 time-every-kind-you.know day-line-kind-EMP he come-VSMK
13. $La\text{-}shob\grave{e}$ $\theta u\text{-}\acute{a}$ $la\text{-}d\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{a}kha$ $p\acute{a}lwi\text{-}\delta\grave{a}$ $hm\acute{u}\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$ $la\text{-}\epsilon$.
 $Lad\epsilon\text{-}shod\acute{o}$ $\theta u\text{-}g\acute{a}$ $la\text{-}d\acute{e}\text{-}\acute{a}kha$ $p\acute{a}lwe\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $hmou'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$ $la\text{-}d\epsilon$.
 come-say he-SUBJ come-REL-time flute-small blow-and-then come-VSMK
14. $\theta\epsilon\text{-}b\grave{i}$ θu $la\text{-}ne\text{-}j\acute{a}$ $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{e}z\grave{a}\text{-}i$ $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{e}$
 $Nau'\text{-}p\grave{i}$ θu $la\text{-}ne\text{-}j\acute{a}$ $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}ein$ $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{e}$
 this-finish he come-stay-usual his-sweetheart-house one-time-only
 θu $ta'\text{-}la\text{-}(\delta)u\text{-}b\acute{e}$.
 θu $t\epsilon'\text{-}la\text{-}da\text{-}b\grave{e}$.
 he go.up-come-VSMK-EMP
15. $Ta'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}a$ θu $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}$ $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{e}$ –
 $Te'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}ga$ θu $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{e}$ –
 go.up-finish-when he time-every-kind-EMP one-time-only
 $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{e}z\grave{a}\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $m\grave{i}\text{-}b\grave{a}o\text{-}\delta\grave{a}$ $th\grave{u}n\text{-}b\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$
 $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $m\grave{i}\text{-}b\grave{o}un\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $th\grave{u}n\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$
 his-sweetheart-SUBJ-also fire-bucket-small light-finish-and
 \acute{e} $khan\text{-}ne\text{-}\epsilon$ – $n\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}$.
 \acute{e} $khan\text{-}ne\text{-}d\epsilon$ – $n\acute{e}\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{e}$.
 visitor-receive-stay-VSMK day-every-kind-EMP
16. $\theta\epsilon\text{-}sho\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $\theta u\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{e}z\grave{a}\text{-}n\grave{a}\text{-}\acute{a}$
 $Di\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $\theta u\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{e}$ $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}n\grave{a}\text{-}g\acute{a}$
 this-say-EMP he-SUBJ-also his-sweetheart-near-at
 $i\text{-}tha'$ $ta'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$, $s\grave{a}g\grave{a}$ $t\acute{o}n\text{-}py\grave{o}\text{-}my\acute{o}'\text{-}py\grave{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}hna\epsilon$,
 $ein\text{-}b\acute{o}$ $t\epsilon'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$, $s\grave{a}g\grave{a}$ $taun\text{-}by\grave{o}\text{-}myau'\text{-}py\grave{o}\text{-}b\acute{o}l\epsilon$,
 house-on go.up-finish-when word south-say-north-say-you.know
 $y\epsilon\text{-}kh\grave{a}n\text{-}m\grave{o}\text{-}kh\grave{a}n\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}o$ $py\grave{o}\text{-}b\grave{i}$ – $\theta\epsilon\text{-}n\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}l\acute{o}$
 $y\acute{i}\text{-}z\grave{a}ya\text{-}m\grave{o}\text{-}z\grave{a}ya\text{-}my\grave{o}\text{-}go$ $py\grave{o}\text{-}b\grave{i}$ – $da\text{-}n\acute{e}\text{-}b\grave{e}$ $\theta u\text{-}d\acute{o}$
 laugh-thing-laugh-thing-kind-ACC say-finish that-with-EMP he-PL

pyò-(ð)u-za-ε nín-ji'-nayı-lo'-á-ne pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn
 pyò-dé-ha-ha nǎ-ji'-nayı-lau'-ká-ne pyò-yìn-pyò-yìn
 say-REL-thing-SUBJ night-eight-hour-about-from-stay talk-ing-talk-ing

[hao-ma-(ð)u -] nín-na' klá-la-(ð)u-bé.
 [həwa -] nín-ne' cá-la-da-bé.
 [umm] night-dark fall-come-VSMK-EMP

17. nín-na' klá-la - shé-hné-nayı-lo' cò-bi.
 nín-ne' cá-la - shé-hnə-nayı-lau' cò-bi.
 night-dark fall-come ten-two-hour-about exceed-VSMK
18. 0ε-khi-sho-bè yɔ'cà-á nè-nè ñòñña ta'-la-ε
 Di-əchein-cá-dó yau'cà-gá nè-nè əññaùnəñña tɛ'-la-dε
 this-time-say-EMP man-SUBJ little-ADV ache enter-come-VSMK
- í-lè ɲai'-la-bi.
 - ei'-lè ɲai'-la-bi.
 sleep-also nod-come-VSMK
19. 0ú-yèzà-o pyò-(ð)u-bè: “è - ɲa i
 0ú-yizà-go pyò-da-bè: “è - ɲa ein
 his-sweetheart-to say-VSMK-EMP right I house
- plan-à-mε, 0wà-ɔ'-mε” sho-pyò-ε.
 pyan-0wà-mε, 0wà-dó-mε” shobi-pyò-dε.
 return-go-VSMK go-now-VSMK speak-say-VSMK
20. 0ε-sho-bè 0ú-yèzà-á “Ha. Plan-mə-yá-á.
 Di-dó 0ú-yizà-gá “Ha. Pyan-mə-yá-bù.
 this-say-EMP his-sweetheart-SUBJ ha return-not-get-VSMK
- Gà pyò-ne-yá-ù-mε” sho-bé kha
 Səgà pyò-ne-yá-òun-mε” sho-bì tə-kha
 word speak-stay-must-more-VSMK say-EMP time
- laoji-ðà-o shwè-thà-be-(ð)u-bè.
 lounji-ðà-go shwè-thà-be-da-bè.
 longyi-cloth-ACC pull-place-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
21. 0ε-sho-bé-kha “Plan-ù-mε” sho-kha 0u pyò;
 Di-dó “Pyan-òun-mε” sho-bì 0u pyò;
 this-say-EMP-time return-more-VSMK say-time he say
- ho-gá kha shwè-thà
 ho-gá təkha shwè-thà
 there-from time pull-place
22. Kha “Cena'-pə-lò” sho-kha,
 təkha “Cena'-pə-là” sho-bì,
 time be.satisfied-VSMK-Q say-time
- “Plan-ù-mε” sho-kha pyò; kha shwè-thà.
 “Pyan-òun-mε” sho-bì pyò; təkha shwè-thà.
 return-more-VSMK say-ing speak time pull-hold

θε-νά-βဲ mə-yá-á.
 Da-né-βဲ mə-yá-bù.
 that-with-EMP not-succeed-VSMK

23. Nɔ'-tɔ́a θε-yɔ'cà-lao'-θu-á sí-kù ta'-la-ε.
 Nau'-tɔ́ga di-yau'cà-lou'-θu-gá sei'-kù yá-la-dε.
 later-when this-man-do-person-SUBJ mind-cross arise-come-VSMK

24. “ε. ηα nɔ'-tha' nì-tə-myò hlé-pì-dóa lao'-hmá
 “ε. ηα nau'-tha' nì-tə-myò hlé-pì-dóga lou'-hmá
 right I further-extra way-one-kind turn-and-when do-only.if

yá-mε” sho-bì, θú-hma pa-la-(ð)u
 yá-mε” sho-bì, θú-hma pa-la-dé
 succeed-VSMK say-and he-at bring-come-REL

pəlwi-ðà-o tə-kha-dè θε-càn-jà – wà-chàn-o
 pəlwe-lè-go tə-kha-dè di-càn-jà – wà-jàn-go
 flute-small-ACC one-time-only this-floor-between bamboo-split-ACC

phlè-pì-dóa càn-jà-á-ne pyi'-khlá-à-le-(ð)u-bé.
 phyè-pì-dóga càn-jà-gá-ne pyi'-chá-ðwà-le-da-bè.
 prise-finish-when floor-between-from-stay throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

25. θε-pì-hmá θu-á pyò-ε:
 Da-pì-dó θu-gá pyò-dε:
 that-finish-only.when he-SUBJ say-VSMK

“A. ηά-pəlwi-tə-lào-lè ɔ'-klá-ðwà-bi.
 “A. ηά-pəlwe-tə-lòun-lè au'-cá-ðwà-bi.
 ah my-flute-one-CLF-also below-fall-go-VSMK

ηα shìn-kɔ'-ù-mε” sho-bì pyò-ε.
 ηα shìn-kau'-òun-mε” sho-bì pyò-dε.
 I descend-get-more-VSMK say-ing speak-VSMK

26. θε-sho-bè-lè “A. Hsin-kɔ' mə-yá-á”,
 Di-dó-lè “A. Hsin-kau' mə-yá-bù”,
 this-say-EMP-also ah descend-get not-succeed-VSMK

θu kɔ'pè-mε sho-bì mù:hmá-á pyò-ðə-gò.
 θu kau'pè-mε sho-bì meimá-gá pyò-ðə-gò.
 she get-give-VSMK say-and woman-SUBJ say-VSMK-EMP

27. tə-kha-dè phe-myò lao'-nù sho-a
 tə-kha-dè bε-lo lou'lè sho-yin
 one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if

θε-càn-jà-bɔ'-á-ne-bé ʃa-gì thú-khlá-bì-dó
 di-càn-jà-bau'-ká-ne-bè ʃa-jì thou'chá-pì-dó
 this-floor-crack-hole-from-stay-EMP tongue-big stick.out-drop-finish-when

pəlwi lí-pì-dóa yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-bè.
 pəlwe lei'-pì-dóga yu-tin-pè-da-bè.
 flute encircle-finish-when take-place-give-VSMK-EMP

28. 0ε-hmá yɔ'cà-lao'-0u-á sìnzà-ε.
 Di-dó-hmá yau'cà-lou'-0u-gá sìnzà-dε.
 this-when man-do-person-SUBJ think-VSMK
29. “Kha-lè 0ə-myò mə-cau-phù-á”-behnæ;
 “təkha-hmá da-myò mə-coun-bù-bù”-bóle
 time-also this-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK-you.know
 “0ε tə-kha-dóa shàn-shàn-pyà-byà
 “di tə-kha-dóga shàn-zàn-pyà-byà
 this one-time-when be.strange-ADV-be.odd-ADV
 0ε-myò ʃa-gì-ná lí-pì-dó yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-za
 di-lo ʃa-jì-né lei'-pì-dó yu-tin-pè-dé-ha
 this-kind tongue-big-with encircle-finish-when take-place-give-REL-thing
 ekandá kə0ε-bé. A. Mə-phyi'.”
 ekandá tə-she-bè. A. Mə-phyi'-phù.”
 truly demon-EMP ah not-work
30. 0ε-bì-sho-bè kha 0u-á “Plan-ù-me”
 Da-né-bè təkha 0u-gá “Pyan-òun-me”
 that-finish-say-EMP time he-SUBJ return-more-VSMK”
 sho-bì pyɔ'-ε. Mə-yá-á.
 sho-bì pyɔ'-dε. Mə-yá-bù.
 say-ing speak-VSMK not-succeed-VSMK
31. 0ε-ná-bè kha əlu'-tə-nì can-hmá yá-me sho-bì:
 Da-né-bè təkha əlu'-tə-nì can-hmá yá-me sho-bì:
 that-with-EMP time independent-one-method plan-when succeed-VSMK
32. “Hwè. ɲa 0è-pɔ' 0wà-ù-me,
 “Hé. ɲa 0è-pau' 0wà-òun-me,
 hey I urine-pass go-more-VSMK
 ɲa ɔ' ʃi' shìn-ù-me.”
 ɲa au' təche' shìn-òun-me.”
 I below trip descend-more-VSMK
33. 0ε-sho-bè, “Nan mə-yaon-a-lè ɲá-khà-o-lè
 Di-lo-bè, “Nin mə-youn-yin-lè, ɲá-khà-go-lè
 that-say-EMP you not-believe-if-also my-waist-ACC-also
 nan cò-ná khe-bì thà.
 nin cò-né chi-bì thà.
 you rope-with tie-and place
34. Jɔn nan 0ε-á ké-ne, sɔn-ne;
 Pidó nin di-gá cí-ne, sáun-ne;
 then you here-from look-stay wait-stay
 ɲa shìn-pí-dóa 0è-pɔ' 0wà-me.”
 ɲa shìn-pì-dóga 0è-pau' 0wà-me.”
 I descend-finish-when urine-pass go-VSMK

35. Sho-pì-dó θú khà-á cò-khè-pè-lai'ε.
 Sho-pì-dó θú khà-ga cò-chi-pè-lai'tε.
 say-finish-when he waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK
36. Hkà-á cò-khè-pè-lai'-pi sho-bè,
 Hkà-ga cò-chi-pè-lai'-pi sho-yin-bè,
 waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK say-EMP
 θu-ε shìn-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè.
 θu-ha shìn-chá-la-da-bè.
 he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP
37. Hsìn-khlá-la-bì sho-bè, θu-[a-] θè-pɔ'-a
 Hsìn-chá-la-bì sho-yin-bè, θu-[a-] θè-pau'-ta
 descend-drop-come-finish say-EMP he-[ah] urine-pass-VSMK
 sho-(ð)u әне-myò phyi'-ɔn, phε-ha lao'-nù sho-a,
 sho-dé әне-myò phyi'-aun, ba lou'-lè sho-yin,
 say-REL state-kind be-so.that which-thing do-Q say-if
 ɔ'-ma jí-ðu ye-an-tə-làon-o tə-kha-dè [θε]
 au'-hma jí-dé ye-ò-tə-lòun-go tə-kha-dè [di]
 below-at be-REL water-pot-one-CLF-ACC one-time-only [this]
 θú-khà-hma khè-thà-(ð)u cò-go phlú-pì-dó θu khè-pè-ε.
 θú-khà-hma chi-thà-dé cò-go phyou'-pì-dó θu chi-pè-dε.
 his-waist-on tie-set-REL rope-ACC untie-finish-when he tie-give-VSMK
38. Khè-pè-pì ye-an-ha tə-kha-dè θè-pɔ'-(θ)u-myò-əθan
 Chi-pè-pì ye-ò-ha tə-kha-dè θè-pau'-θəlo-əθan
 tie-give-finish water-pot-SUBJ one-time-only urine-pass-REL-kind-sound
 cà-ɔn tə-kha-dè əpɔ'-(θ)à-bɔ' phɔ'-pì-dóa
 cà-aun tə-kha-dè əpau'-khələ-təbau' phau'-pì-dóga
 hear-so.that one-time-only hole-small-hole pierce-finish-when
 θu thà-pyi'-yi'-tε.
 θu thà-pyi'-yi'-tε.
 he leave-set-behind-VSMK
39. θε-dóa θε-ye-an-thè-ma jí-(ð)u
 Di-dóga di-ye-ò-dè-hma jí-dé
 this-when this-water-pot-inside-in be-REL
 ye-ε “jɔ́”-sho klá-ne-(ð)u-za.
 ye-ha “jɔ́”-sho cá-ne-dé-ha.
 water-SUBJ shaw-say fall-stay-VSMK-thing
40. A, cà-yá-(ð)u lu-ádóa təgε θè-pɔ'-(θ)u-bè ɔ'mé-ε.
 A, cà-yá-dé lu-gádóga təgε θè-pau'-ta-bè au'mé-dε.
 ah hear-can-REL person-SUBJ really urine-pass-thing-EMP think-VSMK
41. θε-phyi'-lè θu-ha θəma(θ)u-myò-o lao'-pyi'-yi'-pi
 Da-phyi'-lè θu-ha həwa-myò-go lou'-pyi'-yi'-pi
 that-happen-also he-SUBJ this-kind-ACC make-throw-there-VSMK

sho-bè tǎ-kha-dè ʈu ǎcàn plè-(ð)u-bé.
 sho-dó tǎ-kha-dè ʈu ətìn pyè-da-bè.
 say-EMP one-time-only he wildly run-VSMK-EMP

42. Tǎ-kha-dè ʈú-wa-ðà-o ʈu la'lu' plè-(ð)u-bè.
 Tǎ-kha-dè ʈú-ywa-lè-go ʈu lɛ'hlu' pyè-da-bè.
 one-time-only his-village-small-to he frantically run-VSMK-EMP

43. ʈɛ-mà-ʈu cɔ'-ne-(ð)u-gò; ʈú-sí-á
 ʈú-ha-ʈu cau'-ne-da-gò; ʈu-sei'-ká
 his-thing-he fear-stay-VSMK-EMP his-mind-SUBJ
 "A – kəʈe chɔ'-ne-bi" sho-(ð)u ʈu ʈí-díjón
 "A – tǎshe chau'-ne-bi" sho-da ʈu ʈí-déətwɛ'
 ah demon frighten-stay-VSMK say-thing he know-because

tǎ-kha-dè ǎcàn plè-ɛ.
 tǎ-kha-dè ətìn pyè-dɛ.
 one-time-only wildly run-VSMK

44. ɛ – ʈɛ-á-lè ye-an-thè-á ye-dɛ-á-lè
 ɛ – di-gá-lè ye-ò-dɛ-gá ye-dɛ-gá-lè
 so this-SUBJ-also water-pot-inside-from water-PL-SUBJ-also

ʈɛ-mə-pì-hnain-bəhnaɛ, kha-dè phyè-phyè phyè-phyè
 tɛ-mə-pì-hnainbù-bóle, tǎkha-dè phyè-byè phyè-byè
 very-not-finish-can-you.know time-only slow-ADV slow-ADV

"jɔ" sho-bì klá-ne-(ð)u-za.
 "jɔ" sho-bì cá-ne-dé-ha.
 shaw say-and fall-stay-REL-thing

45. ʈɛ-dó i-tha' són-ne-(ð)u kəʈe-má-á
 Di-dó ein-bɔ sáun-ne-dé tǎshe-má-gá
 this-then house-on wait-stay-REL demon-female-SUBJ
 "A – ʈəma(ð)u-za-ɛ ʈè-pɔ'-ʈu ʈə-hmyá-hñìn mə-ca-á:
 "A – dilo-ha-ha ʈè-pau'-ta di-lau'-taun mə-ca-bù:
 ah this-thing-SUBJ urine-pass-thing this-much-even not-last-VSMK

tǎ-khú-khú-bè" sho-bì, tǎ-kha cò-o
 tǎ-khú-gú-bè" sho-bì, tǎ-kha cò-go
 one-thing-thing-EMP say-when one-time rope-ACC

i-tha'-á-ne shón-bì shwè-lai'-(θ)u-za.
 ein-bɔ-gá-ne sháun-bì shwè-lai'-té-ha.
 house-on-from-stay jerk-and pull-through-REL-thing

46. Ye-an-gì-ɛ-bəhnaɛ tǎ-kha-dè pəyao'ʈao'khá i-tha'
 Ye-ò-jì-ha-bóle tǎ-kha-dè pəyou'ʈou'khá ein-bɔ
 water-pot-big-SUBJ-you.know one-time-only suddenly house-on
 yɔ'-la-(ð)u-bè
 yau'-la-da-bè.
 arrive-come-VSMK-EMP

47. $\theta\epsilon$ -hmá “A – nǎ-yèzà-á plè-bì” sho-bì,
 Da-hmá “A – nǎ-yìzà-gá pyè-bì” sho-bì,
 this-when ah my-sweetheart-SUBJ run-VSMK say-and
 tǎ-kha-dè phe-myò lao'-nù sho-a, tǎlǎ-gì thàn-bì lai'-ε.
 tǎ-kha-dè bε-lo lou'-lè sho-yin, tǎlǎ-jì thàn-bì lai'-tε.
 one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if coffin-big carry-and chase-VSMK
48. $\theta\epsilon$ -“tǎlǎ”-sho-(ð)u nán-ló nǎ-lε-(ð)u-bè-lǎ?
 Di-“tǎlǎ”-sho-da nin-dó nǎ-lε-da-bè-lǎ?
 this-coffin-say-thing you-PL ear-encompass-thing-EMP-Q
 “Tǎlǎ”-sho-(ð)u lu-θε-o thè-(ð)u
 “Tǎlǎ”-sho-da lu-ðε-go thè-dé
 coffin-say-thing person-dead-ACC put-REL
 θi'θa-o “tǎlǎ” khǎ-ε.
 ti'ta-go “tǎlǎ” khǎ-dε.
 box-ACC coffin call-VSMK
49. èθəma-(ð)u-gì thàn-bì chí'thè lai'-(θ)u-bé.
 èdi-ha-jì thàn-bì chε'chìn lai'-ta-bé.
 that-thing-big carry-and straightaway follow-VSMK-EMP
50. $\theta\epsilon$ -dó hao-gá-lè əcàn plè, $\theta\epsilon$ -á-lè əcàn lai':
 Di-dó ho-gá-lè ətìn pyè, di-gá-lè ətìn lai':
 this-then there-from-also wildly run here-from-also wildly chase
 plè-plè, lai'-lai'.
 pyè-pyè, lai'-lai'.
 run-run chase-chase
51. $\theta\epsilon$ -ná nǎ'-pí-shàon, hmi-kha-nì-ðu-bé phe-myò
 Da-né nau'-pei'-shòun, hmi-ga-nì-hmá-bé bε-lo
 that-with last-close-end catch-time-be.near-when-EMP what-kind
 phyi'-θwà-nù sho-a, èθε-yǎ'cà-lao'-(θ)u-ε bàon-gənè lè-le-ε.
 phyi'-θwà-lè sho-yin, èdi-yau'cà-lou'-θu-ha boun-gənè lè-le-dε.
 happen-go-Q say-if that-man-do-person-SUBJ bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK
52. $\theta\epsilon$ -chaobú-tǎ-khú-thè bàon-gənè lè-(ð)u-ne-bí-bè.
 Di-chounbou'-tǎ-khú-dè boun-gənè lè-pì-ne-da-bé.
 this-thicket-one-CLF-in bump-ADV fall-and-stay-VSMK-EMP
53. èθε sho, [èθəma-(ð)u -] tǎlǎ thàn-bì lai'-(θ)u
 èda sho, [èdi-ha -] tǎlǎ thàn-bì lai'-té
 that say [that-thing] coffin carry-and chase-REL
 kəθε-má-gì-á-lè $\theta\epsilon$ -chaobú-thè-go-dó
 tǎshe-má-jì-gá-lè di-chounbou'thè-go-dó
 demon-female-big-SUBJ-also this-thicket-inside-to-however
 wan-lai'-tí mǎ-yá-á.
 win-lai'-ló mǎ-yá-bù.
 enter-through-ing not-manage-VSMK

54. Chaobú-əplan-á-ne pa'síhmwíhmwí-bé tə-kha-dè
 Chounbou'-əpyin-gá-ne pa'síhmwéhmwé-bè tə-kha-dè
 thicket-outside-from-stay round.and.round-EMP one-time-only
 əpɔ' ja-pì-dó ne-(ð)u-bè; wan-dí-á-lè mə-yá.
 əpau' ja-pì-dó ne-da-bè; win-ló-gá-lè mə-yábù.
 opening seek-ing-when stay-VSMK-EMP enter-ing-SUBJ-also not-succeed
55. è - hao-gá-lèjón-bè mé-bì-dóa
 è - ho-gá-lè-bè mé-pì-dóga
 so there-from-also-EMP faint-finish-when
 lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-θí - ne-bí-bè.
 lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-θí - ne-da-bè.
 person-that-person-that not-know stay-VSMK-EMP
56. 0ε phyi'-lè-jón-bè mòθə'-thá - tə-kha-dè
 Da phyi'-ta-né-lè-bè mòðau'-thá - tə-kha-dè
 this happen-also-because-EMP dawn-break one-time-only
 ne-yɔn-ðà-á-lè weliwelàn phyi'-la-(ð)u əkha-ma,
 ne-yaun-lè-gá-lè weliwelín phyi'-la-dé əkha-hma,
 sun-light-little-SUBJ-also dawn become-come-REL time-at
 kha-dè 0ε-kəθe-má-gì-ε phyè-phyè-phyè pyɔ'-pì-dóa
 təkha-dè di-təshe-má-jì-ha phyè-byè pyau'-pì-dóga
 time-only this-demon-female-big-SUBJ slow-ADV-ADV disappear-finish-when
 shìn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè, pyɔ'-θwà-le-(ð)u-bè.
 shìn-ðwà-da-bè, pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè
 go.down-go-VSMK-EMP disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
57. è - 0ε-hmá yɔ'cà-á-lè 0ədí-yá-da'-la-ε.
 è - da-hmá yau'cà-gá-lè 0ədí-yá-da'-la-dε.
 so that-only man-SUBJ-also consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK
58. 0ədí-yá-da'-la-ε sho-bè, 0u sìnzà-ε:
 0ədí-yá-da'-la-dε sho-yin-bè, 0u sìnzà-dε:
 consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK say-EMP he think-VSMK
 “Ne-ù: nín-khàn ɲá-o 0ə-myò-kəθe lai'-ε.
 “Ne-òun: nǎ-gìn ɲá-go di-lo-təshe lai'-tε.
 stay-on night-time I-ACC this-kind-demon chase-VSMK
 ɲá-o phe-ha phyi'-cón 0ε-kəθe nɔ'tha' yan-fa-bì
 ɲá-go ba phyi'-ló di-təshe nau'tha' yan-fa-bì
 I-ACC what-thing happen-because this-demon further conflict-look-ing
 mə-nain-nù?”
 mə-nain-ðəlè?”
 not-overcome-Q
59. [0u -] 0u ké-ðu-ε 0u wan-bì-dóa lè-ne-(ð)u
 [0u -] 0u cí-da-ha 0u win-pì-dóga lè-ne-dé
 [he] he look-thing-SUBJ he enter-finish-and fall-stay-REL

neya la'klàoklàon-tò-gì phyi'-ne-ε.
 neya phòunmàθein-tò-jì phyi'-ne-dε.
 place camphor-thicket-big be-stay-VSMK

60. èθε-sho-bè θu [θəma-(ð)u θəma-(ð)u-]
 èda-né-bè θu [həwa həwa-]
 that-say-EMP he [um um]

"la'klàoklàon-a kəθe nain-máalò"
 "phòunmàθein-ha təshe nain-balà"
 camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL

sho-bì, θu [θəmao-] təkhu-dóa θu hma'-θwà-mí-ε.
 sho-bí, θu [həwa-] təkhu-dóga θu hma'-θwà-mí-dε.
 say-ing he [that.thing] one-thing-as.for he note-go-happen-VSMK

61. è - θε-ná-bè [θu-] nɔ' θu wa yɔ'wɔ'-θwà-dé-əkha-ma
 è - da-né-bè [θu-] nau' θu wa yau'-θwà-dé-əkha-hma
 so that-with-EMP [he] afterwards he village arrive-go-REL-time-at

nɔ'-lu-de θu pyò-pyá-ε:
 nau'-lu-de θu pyò-pyá-dε:
 later-people-PL he say-show-VSMK

62. "È - kəθe nain-fin-a-lè la'klàoklàon
 "È - təshe nain-jin-yin-lè phòunmàθein
 so demon overcome-want-if-also camphor

[hao'sa-] i-de-phε-de-ma [haoma(ð)u-] thò-thà, pyú-thà:
 [ho ou'sa-] ein-de-ba-de-hma [həwa-] thò-thà, pyú-thà:
 [whats-its-name] house-PL-what-PL-in [umm] keep-set make-set

[θε-ha-] la'klàoklàon jí-a kəθe cɔ'-sá" sho-díjón,
 [di-ha-] phòunmàθein jí-yin təshe cau'-lai'ta" sho-ló,
 [this-thing] camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL say-because

èθəma-(ð)u-myò-o "la'klàoklàon-ε kəθe cɔ'-(θ)u-bè"
 èdi-ha-myò-go "phòunmàθein-ha təshe cau'-ta-bè"
 that-thing-kind-ACC camphor-SUBJ demon fear-VSMK-EMP

sho-(ð)u phyi'-la-(ð)u-za.
 sho-da phyi'-la-dé-ha.
 say-thing happen-come-REL-thing

63. əkhú θε-né-thí θào-(ð)u-bè,
 əgú di-né-əthí θòun-da-bè,
 now this-day-up.to use-VSMK-EMP

θε-né-thí-bè θε-tò-de-wa-de-ma sho-a,
 di-né-əthí-bè di-tò-de-ywa-de-hma sho-yin,
 this-day-up.to-EMP this-jungle-PL-village-PL-in say-if

la'klàoklàon-wa'-o [θε-] əhma'təyá kəθe cɔ'-ɔn
 phòunmàθein-ywə'-ko [di-] əhma'təyá təshe cau'-aun
 camphor-leaf-ACC [this] in.memory demon fear-so.that

sho-díjón, i-de-phé-de-ma, khwá-bɔ'wá-ma phyi'-se,
 sho-ló, ein-de-ba-de-hma, tɔgá-bau'wá-hma phyi'-se,
 say-because house-PL-what-PL-in door-opening-in be-let

[hao'-sa -] thò-thà-ɛ, chan-thè-ma phyi'-se sai'-thà-ɛ.
 [ho-ou'sa -] thò-thà-dɛ, chan-dè-ma phyi'-se sai'-thà-dɛ.
 [that-thing] set-place-VSMK garden-inside-in be-let plant-place-VSMK

64. è - ɛ-bì ɛ khú-kha pyɔ-(ð)u
 è - pì-dó di əgú-əkha pyɔ-dé
 so that-finish this now-time say-REL

wa-ðà-á-lè-jón-bè əsá-dù-á nɔnmɛ
 ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè əsá-dòun-gá nanmɛ
 village-small-SUBJ-also-because-EMP beginning-while-in name

pè-bemé, əkhú-lè ɛ-Pəlwi-jón-wa sho-bì
 pè-bemé, əgú-lè di-Pəlwe-jaun-ywa sho-bì
 give-although now-also this-Flute-avoid-village say-ing

phyi'-θwà-ɛ.

phyi'-θwà-dɛ.

become-go-VSMK

65. “Pəlwi-jón-wa” sho-(ð)u-á chà-jón hmú-á
 “Pəlwe-jaun-ywa” sho-da-gá tɔchà-jaun hmou'-phù:
 Flute-avoid-village say-thing-SUBJ other-because not.be.so-VSMK

[ɛ -] ɛ pəlwi-hmú-bì ɛ θwà-la-phù-(ð)u wa,
 [di -] di pəlwe-hmou'-pì ɛ θwà-la-bù-dé ywa,
 [this] this flute-blow-ing he go-come-ever-REL village

θɛma(ð)u-go jónkwàn-bì-dó la-ɛ sho-bì [θɛma-(ð)u -]
 həwa-go jaunkwàn-pì-dó la-dɛ sho-bì [həwa -]
 this-ACC avoid-finish-when come-VSMK say-and [umm]

əcòn-pyú-bì-dó, khú ɛ-né-thí ɛ-“Pəlwi-jón-wa”
 əcàun-pyú-pì-dóga, əgú di-né-əthí di-“Pəlwe-jaun-ywa”
 cause-make-finish-when now this-day-up.to this-Flute-avoid-village

sho-díjón phyi'-ne-(ð)u-za.

sho-bì phyi'-ne-dé-ha.

say-ing become-stay-REL-thing

66. Nán-ló θɛma-(ð)u í-thà-phó lo-ɛ: θɛma-(ð)u Dəwɛ-á
 Nin-dó hə-wa í-thà-bó lo-dɛ: hə-wa Dəwɛ-gá
 you-PL that-thing know-keep-to need-VSMK that-thing Tavoy-from

ʃɛʃɛ-á pao-ðà tə-baon-bè.

ʃɛʃɛ-gá poun-lè tə-boun-bè.

olden.days-from story-small one-story-EMP

4.4.2 TAVOYAN TEXT NO.2 – TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

4.4.2.1 LULLABY

1. Hpò-lá-màn, hmao-taodao, phàon-gì ðàngàn yaon.
Hpò-lá-mìn hmoun-toundoun, phòun-jì ðingàn youn.
grandfather-moon-king dim-ish glory-great robe wrap
2. Yaon-baza'-ma mú-la'-hñò, phàon-gì la'pha' byò.
Youn-baza'-hma móun-le'-hñò, phòun-jì ləphe' myò.
hare-mouth-in cake-finger-point glory-great tea swallow

4.4.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Súsú-ðà, phe-ðu sho? Dòndon-mo sho?
Kaun-lè, bə-ðu sho? Hmo-chijìn sho?
tiny-little which-person say Daungdaung-fungus say
Mə-ŋo-ba-ná, súsú-ðà: dòn-don-mo əŋaon-ðà.
Mə-ŋo-ba-né, kaun-lè: hmo-chijìn əŋoun-lè.
not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little Daungdaung-fungus bud-little
2. Tò-jon-gì la-bi sho, bwì-dan-gá to.
Tò-jaun-jì la-bi sho, myì-dan-gá to.
jungle-cat-big come-VSMK say tail-stem-SUBJ be.short
Mə-ŋo-ba-ná, súsú-ðà: tò-jon klà-gì sà.
Mə-ŋo-ba-né, kaun-lè: tò-jaun cà-jì sà.
not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little jungle-cat tiger-big eat
3. Zin-ban-tha'-ká, didì bye, didao' myi'-sí klə.
Zin-bin-the'-ká didì myi, didou' mye'-sí cə.
zin-tree-on-from dee.dee sound owl eye-ball be.wide.
í-tó-mə-dé, súsú-ðà: lè-ná cho'-hlu'-thà.
ei-tó-mə-dé, kaun-lè: lè-né chau'-hlu'-thà.
sleep-soon-VSMK-say tiny-little bow-with frighten-chase-put
4. Súsú-ðà, ji'səya, bə-mli'-tú-gì-ba.
Kaun-lè, chi'səya, wəbò-hmyi'-só-jì-ba.
tiny-little love-able bamboo-shoot-tip-big-POL
Phápá mə-ca plan-mə-ðà: thàn-kho' tò wan-ðwà.
Phephe mə-ca pyan-mə-le: thìn-khou' tò win-ðwà.
daddy not-long return-VSMK-EUPH firewood-chop woods-enter-go
5. Súsú-ðà, ŋo tí-lai'-pe: mímí kha' hlwè-ne.
Kaun-lè, əŋo tei'-lai'-pa: meme pəkhe' hlwè-ne.
tiny-little cry quieten-just-EUPH Mummy cradle swing-stay
È-è, nən-dó: í, í-lai'-só – lè.
È-è, naun-dó: ei', ei'-lai'-só – lè.
there-there brother-PL sleep sleep-just-let's lè

4.4.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. Bà phàøn i'-i', la'-hné-shi'.
 Səbà əphòun i'-i', lɛ'-hnə-shi'.
 rice young.grain be.full-ADV finger-two-joint
 Ne-yi'-tɔ́: Mɔn-gì plan-mɛ-lɔ.
 Ne-yi'-tɔ́: Maun-jì pyan-mɛ-nɔ.
 stay-back-now Brother-big return-VSMK-right?
2. Yán-ðà khu-ðà ain-àn-nà.
 ɲəyán-lè ɲəkhu-lè ain-in-nà.
 snakehead.fish-little torpedo.fish-little pool-pond-near
 θa-ðà kho': plan-ðwà-gé-be-yɔ.
 əθa-lè (ka'?): pyan-ðwà-já-be-dɔ.
 quiet-little (come?) return-go-PL-EUPH-now
3. Khatəle hlàn, θɛ-səkhàn,
 Təkhatale hlàn, di-səkhàn,
 sometimes stride this-place
 Tɔn-dàn ʃɔ', Mɔn-gì plan-la-gé-mɛ-lɔ.
 Taun-dàn ʃau', Maun-jì pyan-la-gé-mɛ-nɔ.
 mountain-range roam Brother-big return-come-back-VSMK-right?

4.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

4.4.3.1 HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – now we're here I'm going to tell you a story of Tavoy long long ago.
2. Listen.
3. There's this story, you see.
4. Mm. There's a sort of village about three miles from Tavoy – a little village of some 14 or 15 houses.
5. Now, one day the people in this village had a bit of luck, you might say: they went off to catch some fish or what-have-you, and got this eel.
6. Well, this eel – I don't know whether they were lucky or something, but it was pretty big.
7. So they carried it off, this eel.
8. It was too big for one family to eat,
9. so the whole lot of 14 or 15 households divided it up, a chunk to each you see, and all of them ate this eel.
10. Then, so the story goes, at dead of night, they say, every single person in the village got cholera, and the whole lot died.
11. At that time there was a lad who used to come courting every day in this village – he came from a village that wasn't very far away.
12. Along he came, exactly as usual, you know – just as he came every day.

13. And as he came he played away on his little flute along the way.
14. He went to his girl's house just as usual, and went straight up the steps and in.
15. And when he was inside everything was as usual: his girl was there to receive him, with her lamp alight, just as she always did.
16. And the lad, when he was in his girl's house, he was chatting away, you know, telling her jokes and that, and they went on talking from about eight in the evening till it got late –
17. I mean it was some time after twelve o'clock.
18. By this time the lad was getting a bit uncomfortable, and he was sleepy too.
19. So he said to his girl "Well, I'll be getting back – goodbye", he said.
20. But then his girl said "Hey! You can't go back. You've got to go on talking", and she held on to his *lon-gyi*.
21. Then he said "Goodbye" again, and still she held on tight.
22. "Do you mind?" he said, "I'm off", but she still held on, and he couldn't get away.
23. After a bit the lad had an idea.
24. "Mm – I'll have to change my tactics to something different", he thought, and he took his flute that he'd brought along with him, opened a gap in the bamboo flooring, and dropped it down through the crack.
25. Then he said "Oh – my flute's fallen down below – I'll just go down and fetch it", he said.
26. "Oh no you don't", said the woman – she would fetch it for him.
27. And what do you think she did then? – she thrust her tongue right through the gap in the floor, curled it round the flute, and brought it all the way up for him.
28. At that the lad thought:
29. "I've never seen anything like that" – you know – "this is most peculiar – curling her tongue round the flute like that and fetching it up. She is definitely a demon. This is just not on."
30. With that, he said again "I'm going home", but it was no good.
31. So he thought he ought to try a different tack:
32. "Look here", he said, "I'm going for a pee – I'll just pop down below".
33. Then he said "And if you don't trust me, you can tie a rope round my waist.
34. Then you stay here – wait up here: I'll go down and have a pee".
35. That done, he tied a rope round his waist.
36. As soon as the rope was tied round his waist, he went down under the house.
37. When he got down there he had to make it seem as if he was having a pee, so what he did was to get a water-pot that was down there, take off the rope round his waist, and tie it to the pot.

38. Then, to make a sound like someone peeing, he knocked a little hole in the pot and left it where it was.
39. And the water in the pot went “shhh” as it came spurting out.
40. Anyone who heard it would have thought it really was someone having a pee.
41. As soon as he’d fixed all that up, he tore off at top speed.
42. He made off for his village like a madman.
43. He was really scared, you see: he kept saying to himself “There’s a demon after you” and knowing this made him tear off fast.
44. Meanwhile, the water in the pot hadn’t stopped, you see – it just went slowly on and on spurting out going “shhh”.
45. So the demon waiting up in the house thought “Well now, having a pee shouldn’t last as long as this: something’s up”, and she jerked the rope and pulled it up into the house.
46. And the water-pot, of course, came tumbling in.
47. At that she realised – “Hey! My man’s run away”, so what she did was to pick up her coffin and chase him.
48. You know what a coffin is don’t you? It’s a box for putting dead people in, that’s what a coffin is.
49. So she put this great thing on her shoulder and ran straight after him.
50. So there was the lad haring off, and there was this one haring after him: running and running, chasing and chasing.
51. Then at the very end, when she’d nearly caught up with him, what happened was that the lad tripped and fell head-over-heels.
52. He tumbled straight into this thicket.
53. And the demon who was chasing after him with her coffin just couldn’t get inside the thicket.
54. She went round and round the edge of it looking for a way in, but she couldn’t get in at all.
55. The lad inside had fainted away – he didn’t know what was going on: he just lay there oblivious of it all.
56. And while he lay there, daybreak came – the sun began to give a little light and dawn came, at which the demon slowly disappeared from sight – she vanished completely.
57. Well, then the lad came to.
58. And he began to think: “Hold on a minute. There was this great demon after me during the night. Why was it that she couldn’t harm me any more?”
59. He looked around and he saw that the place he’d fallen into was a great thicket of camphor bushes.
60. So then he realised that camphor was a great protection against demons, and he remembered that.

61. So when he got back to his village he told the others about it:

62. “Hey – if you want to protect yourself against demons stick some camphor around the house: if there’s camphor there demons take fright”, and because of that, the belief came about that demons are afraid of camphor.

63. And it’s still used now – even now, in villages in the countryside, with the idea of frightening away demons, people put out camphor, sometimes in the doorway, and sometimes out in the garden.

64. And then, this village – it had a name before, you see, but now it’s called “Flute-escape” village.

65. What this means is that it was the village where he used to come and go playing his flute, and it was where he made his escape from the whats-its-name, and that’s why it’s now become “Flute-escape” village.

66. This is something you ought to know about: it’s a story of Tavoy from long ago.

4.4.3.2 TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

4.4.3.2.1 LULLABY

1. The moon-king is dim tonight,
and the monk wraps his robe around him.
2. The hare [in the moon] has finger-pastry in his mouth,
and the monk munches it with his tea.

4.4.3.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Who told you, my little one? Was it the Anklet toadstool?
Don’t cry, little one: the toadstool hasn’t opened yet.
2. The jungle-cat is here, they say, with his stumpy tail.
Don’t cry, little one: the tiger ate him up.
3. Up in the zìn-tree, going dee-dee, was the owl with his staring eyes.
He was going to sleep, he said, little one: but I chased him away with my bow.
4. My little one, darling one, tip of the bamboo-shoot.
Daddy will soon be home: he went out to cut some firewood.
5. My little one, stop crying now: Mummy is swinging your cradle.
There we are, my beauties: let’s go to sleep now.

4.4.3.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. The paddy ear’s in bud, soft and two knuckles long.
Stay where you are: Brother Rain’s coming back, isn’t he?
2. The snakehead fish and the torpedo fish are in the pools.
Quietly they come close: be off home with you!
3. Striding towards us, roaming over the hills,
You’ll be back, won’t you, Brother Rain?

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REFLEXIVES IN BURMESE¹

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1. ABSTRACT

The Burmese reflexive has three alternative forms. One, attested from the earliest inscriptions, uses မိမိ /mí mí/ as the reflexive pronoun; for direct objects this is usually followed by the noun ကိုယ် /ko/ 'body', thus literally meaning 'self's body'. This reflexive has numerous cognates in Loloish languages and is ultimately derived from the Tibeto-Burman etymon *mi 'person'. Another has reanalysed the noun ကိုယ် /ko/ 'body' as the reflexive pronoun, and adds something else following it; for direct objects, the most frequent type, the form is /kó ko ko/; this comprises two occurrences of 'body', the first in possessive form, and the object marker which is also ultimately derived from 'body'; as discussed below the order of these constituents is a point of disagreement among Burmese grammarians. A third, derived by reanalysis of the second, uses any pronoun twice, separated by the noun ကိုယ် /ko/ 'body' or less frequently another body-part noun.

In a reflexive context, the use of one of these reflexives is not obligatory; but if a reflexive is not used then the sentence is ambiguous and would normally be interpreted as non-reflexive. Burmese uses reflexives quite frequently with abstract verbs for mental attitudes and states, and considerably less frequently with concrete action verbs.

In general where a cognate for the literary Burmese မိမိ /mí mí/ is absent elsewhere in Burmese-Lolo, the reflexive is instead innovatively derived from etyma for 'body' (such as Sino-Tibetan *gug, Burmese-Lolo *gog¹) or from Burmese-Lolo *daw¹. In this it is unlike the Burmese spoken form, which derives from another Sino-Tibetan 'body' etymon *s-ku, Burmese-Lolo *s-ko¹. In some languages both a cognate for /mímí/ and a 'body' form occur. Grammaticalisation from words for 'body' is very widespread in languages of the area and of course semantically quite reasonable for reflexives.

¹ I would like to thank various speakers of Burmese including Daw Tin Tin Nyunt, U Sein Win and Mo Mo Aung for providing examples. I am also very grateful to various colleagues including U Thein Tun and Anna J. Allott for comments. Naturally all remaining errors in data or analysis are my own responsibility.

2. INTRODUCTION

Burmese is the national language of Burma with some 30 million first-language speakers, over ten million second-language speakers and a written history of nearly 900 years. It is one of various South and Southeast Asian languages with diglossia, a literary High also used in some formal spoken contexts which is distinct from the spoken Low. In Burmese, the differences are mainly in the forms of most noun and verb markers and suffixes as well as some frequent function words such as the demonstratives; there are also other lexical differences. For details and some examples, see Bradley (1977) and Allott (1985). The literary High is in many cases more conservative, reflecting the earlier language, Old Burmese, as preserved in inscriptions from 1112 AD. One of the structural differences between the High and the Low is in reflexivisation, for which there is one form in the High and two others in the Low, with interesting structural differences.

The transliteration of Old Burmese and the transcription of Modern Burmese used here have been outlined in the introduction to this volume.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper.

ACC	accusative	O	object
CLF	classifier	PF	final particle
DO	direct object	PL	plural
EXC	exclusive	PRO	pronoun
GEN	genitive	PUR	purposive
INT	intensifier	REL	relative
M	male	S	subject
NEG	negative	SG	singular
NP	noun phrase		

3. PRONOMINALISATION IN BURMESE

For full details of the pronoun system in Burmese and its development from Old Burmese to Modern Burmese, see Bradley (1993). There have been very substantial changes including the appoggiation or replacement of virtually every pronoun, in some cases more than once, during the nine centuries of records of written Burmese. Unlike most other function words, these pronouns do not differ between the modern literary High and the spoken Low.

The usual modern forms are cited in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: PRONOMINAL FORMS IN MODERN BURMESE

ကျွန်တော်	/cəno/	I (male speaker)
ကျွန်မ	/cəmə/	I (female speaker)
ငါ	/ŋa/	I (speaking to intimate or inferior)
ကျုပ်	/cou'/	I (used in rural areas, mainly by male speakers)
ခင်ဗျား	/khəmyà/	you (male speaker)
ရှင်	/lin/	you (female speaker)
နင်	/nin/	you (speaking to intimate or inferior)
မင်း	/mìn/	you (speaking to intimate or inferior)
သူ	/θu/	he/she (usually human, always animate)

In Burmese, pronoun forms are fairly infrequent in running discourse; the unmarked assumption is that a statement has a first person subject and that a question has a second person subject, unless the context shows or implies otherwise.

Pronouns also have an attributive/possessive form which replaces a final heavy or level tone with a creaky tone, e.g. ကျွန်တော့် /cəno/ 'my (male speaker)'; those which already end in creaky tone, such as ကျွန်မ /cəmə/ 'I/my (female speaker)', have the same form. The pronoun plural marker is ဝိုဝ်. *tuiw.* from the earliest inscriptions, regularly giving modern ဝိုဝ် pronounced /dó/. This was originally voiceless /tó/ and can be related to the fairly widespread Loloish etymon **daw*³ 'body'; cognates are also used as a reflexive in some of those languages. In Burmese, the plural marker may be productively added to any of the above pronouns, but pronouns without the plural marker do also occur in plural contexts. All these pronouns, with or without plural marker, may occur in the Pró (possessive form) + /ko/ + Pro reflexive construction discussed below. The same marker with the formative prefix /ə/ as seen in the inscriptional form အဝိုဝ်. *atuiw.* was most likely a first plural exclusive; when the prefix was later lost, it retained medial voicing² and this is the source of the modern first person plural (inclusive or exclusive) /dó/. There are various restrictions on the plural marker in reflexives, as discussed below.

While the earliest Burmese inscription, the Rajakumar (dated 1112 AD), provides evidence for juncture voicing in noun compounds such as မင်းကြီး *māngri* 'king' + 'big' > 'great king' (lines 15-16), in almost all such cases later spellings show the unvoiced forms instead. Here, the modern form is မင်းကြီး: now written /mìn cì/, showing the base form of the second element but pronounced /mìn jì/, still with medial voicing. Other dialects of Burmese show much less medial voicing: some do not voice medial aspirates, others do not voice medials at

² For details and various parallel examples which have similarly reinforced the category of voiced stops in modern Burmese, see Bradley (forthcoming).

all, except where a Burmese doublet form has been borrowed. In standard Burmese this juncture voicing is one of the main markers of unity between the noun or verb stem and following associated components in a compound as well as following suffixes, modals and other markers. Juncture voicing is regular for reduplicated verbs but not reduplicated nouns.³

Many of the modern Burmese pronoun forms, including the reflexes, are denominal. The literary reflexive appears to be derived from a reduplication of Sino-Tibetan etymon **mi* 'person', while the spoken reflexive is derived from the Sino-Tibetan etymon **s-ku* 'body'. Parallels for this semantic development can be found in a number of languages of the region, as well as elsewhere. The likely process of these developments is traced below.

It is often difficult to disentangle the literal 'body' and the extended object marker or pronominal uses of /ko/ in early inscriptions. The reanalysis of ကိုယ် /ko/ as a reflexive appears to have been fairly early; more recently, as in many other languages, this reflexive is itself shifted to a non-reflexive pronominal use. Thus, in early modern Burmese, /ko/ alone could also be used as a second person pronoun, to which the pronoun plural marker /tó/ > /dó/ could also be added. Judson (1853:203) provides some examples of /ko/ used as a second person pronoun by male or female intimates to women; Tun Nyein (1906), which is often somewhat archaic for its period, includes /ko/ in the list of second person pronouns. However, in current spoken Burmese, /ko/ alone is an informal first person pronoun mainly but not only used by male speakers, not a second person pronoun; this further illustrates the instability and openness of the pronoun system in Burmese. The form /ko dɔ/ could formerly be used as a second person pronoun to address superiors – monks and others; this is clearly another extension of the 'body' meaning with the addition of the royal or respectful suffix ငဝ် /tɔ/. Its replacement by the current အရှင်ဘုရား /əʃɪnphəyà/ is another example of the relatively rapid changes in the Burmese pronoun system.

Yet another independent development, discussed further below and in Bradley (1993), is the modern spoken object/goal/allative noun marker ကို /ko/ from the same nominal source; this has been differentiated from the nominal/reflexive spelling as noted below.

4. CASE MARKING IN BURMESE

Burmese is a typical SOV language; all marking of cases is done with suffixed cliticised markers. These are phonologically joined to the preceding nominal by various juncture phenomena which likewise link the verb and associated modals and other markers. Many of these markers are historically derived from grammaticalised nominal, verbal or other forms.

³ For example /kàun/ 'good', reduplicated /kàungàun/ 'well', but အစ်ကို /əko/ 'older brother', reduplicated ကိုကို /ko ko/.

This case marking is in large part optional, and is used relatively sparingly in spoken language. Probably due to the influence of Pali as the liturgical language of Buddhism, written language marks a far greater proportion of cases on NPs, and makes some distinctions absent from spoken style.

There is a productive tone sandhi process which links a possessor noun to the following possessed noun, whereby the final syllable of the pronoun or other noun (if not already creaky tone) changes to creaky tone; the most obvious example is the attributive/possessive pronouns. This process is reflected from the earliest inscriptions to the present; for example the 'Myazedi', lines 36 and 37, has င် ၵာ + various kinship terms (e.g. line 36 has င် ဃာ ၵာ *sā* 'my son', instead of the usual subject pronoun form င် ၵာ). More relevantly, on the third face of the Lemyethna Pagoda inscription dated 1232, lines 12, 19, 24 and 29 show င် ကိုဝ် ၵာ *kuiw* 'me' (lit. 'my body'), here ambiguous between Pro + the noun 'body' and Pro + direct object marker – a perfect example of the right environment for a reanalysis! The origin of the /ko/ object marker from a possessor noun + possessed 'body' noun phrase is further indicated by the productive application of the noun tone creaking process before this noun marker, probably of possessive origin as discussed in Bradley (1993, forthcoming).

The early orthographic indication of the creaky tone is a final glottal stop; this and the heavy tone written (if at all at that period) with a final *h* are only very sporadically indicated in the earliest inscriptions.⁴ Alternatively, Indic short vowels (creaky tone) as opposed to long vowels (other non-stop final tones) may indicate the contrast for *a*, *i* and *u*;⁵ but the writing of this vowel-length distinction is also not very consistent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Given also the provisional nature of the spelling in most of the earliest Burmese inscriptions, it is difficult to be absolutely certain whether the sandhi creaky tone was already regular and productive in the twelfth century, but it is quite likely. This sandhi process can perhaps be derived from a fused form of the possessive marker, inscriptional and literary /*í*/, modern spoken /*yé*/.

A similar alternation can be observed in possessive forms of pronouns in several other Burmese-Lolo languages including other dialects of Burmese, other Burmish languages such as Hpun, and Loloish languages in each subgroup of Loloish.

⁴ This is not too suprising given that the early writers of Burmese would have been Mon speakers, whose language was then non-tonal. Bradley (1982) suggests that the Burmese tones at that period may have included various phonation, duration and vowel quality characteristics which also exist in modern Burmese though they are less prominent than the pitch differences.

⁵ Here, the short vowels and the syllables written with a subscript glottal stop are differently transliterated following the usual practice outlined in the introduction to this volume; though both presumably represented creaky tone.

As noted above, other noun-marker forms also come at the end of the noun phrase, which consists maximally of a relative clause or a demonstrative, the head noun or compound noun with suffixes such as plural if any, and a quantifier expression consisting of one or more sequences of number plus classifier. Various markers have continued in use from the earliest inscriptions to the modern literary High, but most of these have been replaced in the spoken Low. These markers are the topic of Bradley (forthcoming) and will be only briefly noted here. In early inscriptions, objects (direct and indirect) could be followed by the marker *ā*(:), while some direct objects, especially human ones, could be followed by *kuiw* (from 'body') instead. This situation is preserved in the distribution of modern literary Burmese /ā/ and /ko/, but with wider distribution and greater frequency of /ko/ after direct objects. In modern spoken Burmese /ko/ has completely replaced /ā/ with indirect as well as direct objects; and there is a strong constraint restricting the occurrence of /ko/ to one NP in a sentence.

The process and chronology of the replacement of အာ: *ā* by ကိုယ် *kuiw* in Burmese is a fascinating topic but beyond the scope of this discussion; see Bradley (forthcoming). Other changes in markers are mostly one-for-one replacement of existing markers in spoken Burmese, with the Old Burmese forms still retained in literary Burmese. Some of the elaboration of markers, for example the subject form in modern written Burmese, can perhaps be attributed to the influence of word-by-word calquing of Pali texts; see Okell (1967) for details of this so-called Nissaya Burmese.

What can be noted is that Old Burmese, from its earliest inscriptions, already shows the accusative marking on nouns which is characteristic of Burmese-Lolo languages and south-eastern Tibeto-Burman in general. There is no evidence of ergativity in Burmese from the beginning of the twelfth century, which is rather inconvenient for those who wish to postulate ergativity as a Tibeto-Burman characteristic.

5. REFLEXIVES IN BURMESE

The modern reflexive forms are literary မိမိ /mí mí/ and spoken ကိုယ် /ko/; more specifically, the spoken direct object reflexive is /kó ko ko/ or *Pró* + ကိုယ် /ko/ (or other body-part noun) + *Pro*.⁶ The literary form occurs from the earliest inscriptions; the /kó ko ko/ spoken form comes in gradually, and is derived from the noun 'body'; the *Pró* /ko/ *Pro* form results from reanalysis of the /kó ko ko/ form. The spoken forms are unusual in that their components do not undergo juncture voicing.⁷

⁶ That is, any pronoun form in its possessive form with creaky tone on the final syllable plus /ko/ plus the pronoun repeated in full. Other body-part nouns may also be used in place of /ko/; see sentence (6h) below.

⁷ While reduplicated nominal forms such as kinship terms like /ko ko/ 'older brother' also do not voice,

Burmese speakers disagree as to the 'correct' spelling of the /kó ko ko/ reflexive. Some prefer ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကိုယ်, that is 'body + object marker + body'; others prefer ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကို, that is 'body's body + object marker'. Both spellings are given in Ba Han (1966:1605); it is said that the government and the Burmese Department at Rangoon University prefer the latter. Both are grammatically plausible reflexives; given the semantic change 'body' > 'self', the former suggests 'self + object marker + self', two separate NPs; the latter implies 'self's body + object marker', a single NP. However, neither is parallel to the attributive/possessive pronoun + body-part noun + pronoun reflexive construction, which here would instead suggest ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကိုယ်, that is 'body's body + body', a two-NP construction. Perhaps the various alternatives have all contributed to the modern /kó ko ko/ construction; but the lack of juncture voicing suggests that neither the second nor the third /ko/ is the object marker, as this would normally be voiced /go/ in either of the two environments suggested by the alternative spellings.

This noun 'body', Old Burmese ကိုဝ် *kuiw*, modern ကိုယ် /ko/ and the reflexive derived from it contain a false etymology in its modern spelling, adding a final orthographic *y* based on the unrelated but look-alike Sanskrit/Pali form *kāya*. There are also longer, more formal versions which start with /ko/ and continue with a Pali doublet, for example ကိုယ်ကာယ /ko ka yá/, ကိုယ်ခန္ဓာ /ko khan da/; these forms may be further extended with a Burmese nominal doublet, for example ကိုယ်ခန္ဓာအကောင်အထည် /ko khan da əkaun əthe/, all meaning 'body'. An earlier grammaticalised form from the noun was the noun object marker ကို /ko/, but this is spelled without the spurious Pali-influenced final *y*. In this marker use, it is absent from the earliest inscriptions starting in the year 1112, but starts to appear by 1147. It was at first used only with animate patients, but by 1169 was occasionally being used with inanimate (non-corporeal) noun direct objects, and by 1182 with complement clauses and in an allative sense. It has subsequently, as in the undated but early Lokahteikpan inscriptions (Ba Shin 1962), generalised further to goals in ditransitive or causative constructions as well, and in current spoken Burmese covers all these functions.

It is now stylistically unacceptable to have more than one /ko/ in a clause, and in normal running discourse few of the direct or indirect objects have /ko/ suffixed to them. Like other such suffixes, it normally voices when the immediately preceding syllable does not end in a stop.

In Burmese it is only a noun phrase coreferential with the subject which can be reflexive. This can be in the same clause, in an embedded clause within the same sentence, or in a following conjoined clause or subsequent sentence in the same discourse context where the

the /kó ko ko/ reflexive is not synchronically a reduplication, even though each of its three components is ultimately derived from the noun 'body'.

antecedent is clear. As Burmese is a typical verb-final language, most embedded clauses precede the subject; so the reflexive in an embedded clause often precedes its subject antecedent if that antecedent is present. Furthermore, as Burmese is a language which does not require overt subject pronouns, the antecedent may be completely unexpressed; in such a case the reflexive is ambiguous or generic if the antecedent is not clear from the context. Like most verb-final languages, Burmese is most frequently SOV but the exact order of noun phrases is pragmatically determined. For the reflexive direct object the grammaticalised unitary construction requires what is an O+S order, or for some speakers alternatively an O+S preceded or followed by the non-reflexive form of the S.

Reflexives occur in various case roles; the main one is direct object, with more or less fossilised possessive and embedded subject forms. Other case roles, such as indirect object and so on, are filled by the possessive form of the reflexive pronoun မိမိ /mí mí/ or ကိုယ့် /kó/ plus a noun form. The Burmese reflexive does not also have a reciprocal meaning; with a plural antecedent the action is distributive, not reciprocal. Unlike the corresponding non-reflexive pronouns, the /kó/ reflexive may not add the plural marker; but the literary /mí mí/ may do so, as shown in (24) below. On the other hand, the extended /kó/ non-reflexive pronoun may have the plural marker; this pluralised usage was attested by the early nineteenth century, as indicated by an example in Judson (1853: 203).

5.1 DIRECT OBJECT

As noted above, the exact structure of the spoken Burmese direct object reflexive /kó ko/ is a matter of dispute. The 'standard' analysis suggests that it is a single NP comprising a possessive reflexive pronoun /kó/, the noun /ko/ 'body' (which should be creaky before an object marker) and then the object marker /ko/. The alternative spelling suggests that it is a sequence of two NPs; the first consists of a reflexive pronoun /ko/ and the direct object marker /ko/ which normally voices to /go/ and produces a creaky tone on the preceding syllable in this environment; and then a second NP /ko/ 'body' or reflexive. Despite its lack of the usual and expected juncture voicing, this operates as a unit for most speakers, who are not able to pause as is normally possible between NPs in Burmese. As will be argued below, it is likely that neither modern spelling reflects the original structure of the reflexive.

Since /kó ko ko/ alone is ambiguous as shown in sentence (1) and does not specify the subject, a subject may also be present. On the other hand /kó ko ko/ (or literary /mí mí/) alone is most frequently used for generic reflexives. If there is another pronoun, it normally follows the reflexive, as in (2); but a noun may precede or follow, as in (3); some speakers reject sentences like (3b) with the nominal subject following the /kó ko ko/. Literary equivalents are similar but may also have မိမိကိုယ် /mí mí ko/ 'self's body', မိမိကိုယ်ကို /mí mí kó go/

with the following object marker, or maximally (including the possessive marker /í/) မိမိ၏ကိုယ်ကို /mí mí í ko go/; the latter two have the direct object marker voiced, creaking the preceding syllable, unlike the spoken /kó ko ko/. There is also a non-ambiguous alternative reflexive form with any other pronoun in the first and third slots, with the first in creaky-final (attributive) form. This is an OS rather than the more unmarked SO order as in (4) and (5); it will be argued below that the /kó ko ko/ form is parallel.

- (1) *kó ko ko yai' tɛ*
 self DO self hit realis
 Someone (unspecified but probably I unless context suggests otherwise) hits himself.
- (2) *kó ko ko cənɔ yai' tɛ*
 self DO self I (M) hit realis
 I hit myself.
- (3) a. *khəlè kó ko ko kai' tɛ*
 child self DO self bite realis
 This child bites itself.
- b. *kó ko ko khəlè kai' tɛ*
 self DO self child bite realis
 The child bites itself.


The meaning difference between (3a) and (3b) is one of focus. Of course, (2) and (3) could also be expressed with the *Pró* + /ko/ or other body-part noun + *Pro* construction, as in (4) and (5); (4a) is not ambiguous so the extra pronoun is not necessary, but some speakers prefer to put one in as in (4b), always pausing after the reflexive, perhaps on the model of sentences like (2). Other speakers reject sentences like (4b) as excessively redundant. Some Rangoon speakers will accept sentences like (4c) with the extra subject pronoun first, if the additional subject pronoun is to be there at all, but for most the preference is for OS as in (4b) rather than SO as in (4c). There are also some speakers, especially from Mandalay, who prefer sentences like (4c) to those like (4b); for them the tendency to OS in reflexives must be less strong. These pronominal reflexives do not occur in literary style. Sentences like (3) with an overt NP subject are in any case not ambiguous, so the *Pró* + /ko/ + *Pro* construction is not necessary to disambiguate them. Many speakers reject the SO possibility as in (5b) below, but this is not as unlikely as the corresponding sentence with pronouns only, as in (4c); similarly, some speakers, especially those from Mandalay, may prefer (5b) to (5a) because of their preference for SO, just as they prefer (3a) and (4c).

- (4) a. *cənɔ ko cənɔ yai' tɛ*
 I DO I hit realis
 I hit myself.

- b. *ʔcəno ko cəno cəno yai' tɛ*
 I DO I I hit realis
 I hit myself.
- c. *ʔʔcəno cənó ko cəno yai' tɛ*
 I I DO I hit realis
 I hit myself.
- (5) a. *θú ko θu khəlè kai' tɛ*
 he DO he child bite realis
 The child bites itself.
- b. *ʔkhəlè θú ko θu kai' tɛ*
 child he DO he bite realis
 The child bites itself.

This *Pró* + body-part noun + *Pro* form occurs with any of the core pronouns listed in the previous section, with or without plural marker; the pronominal form in first and third slots must be identical apart from the attributive creak on the final syllable of the first. Therefore sentences like (6a), (6b) or (6c)⁸ are grammatical, while sentences like (6d) and (6e) are ungrammatical. Those like (6f) and (6g) are not reflexive; the object marker does show juncture voicing, and there can be a pause before the second pronoun. Some speakers find the reflexive forms with plural marker clumsy, because they can get rather long; hence sentences like (6c) below with the plurality marked in the verb but not the reflexive may be preferred. The most frequent body-part noun, not suprisingly, is /ko/ 'body' itself; but others do occur, as in (6h), which is otherwise exactly parallel to (5a) and (5b).

- (6) a. *θú dó ko θu dó kai' tɛ*
 he PL DO he PL bite realis
 They bite themselves.
- b. *θú dó ko θu dó kai' cá dɛ*
 he PL DO he PL bite PL realis
 They bite themselves.
- c. *θú ko θu kai' cá dɛ*
 he DO he bite PL realis
 They bite themselves.
- d. **θú dó ko θu kai' tɛ*
 he PL DO he bite realis
 He bites them.
- e. **θú ko θu dó kai' tɛ*
 he DO he PL bite realis
 He bites them.

⁸ Sentences (6b) and (6c) include the verb marker  /cá/ which indicates multiplicity of the action and therefore usually a plural subject; (6c) shows that the plurality of the subject may be marked on the verb without necessarily being marked on the reflexive or the subject.

- f. *θú dó go θu kai' tɛ*
 he PL DO he bite realis
 He bites them. (fronted, topical object)
- g. *θú go θu dó kai' (cá) dɛ*
 he DO he PL bite (PL) realis
 They bite him. (fronted, topical object)
- h. *khəlè θú lɛ' θu kai' tɛ*
 child his hand he bite realis
 The child bites his own hand/bites himself on the hand.

These sentences are also perfectly natural with a subject noun, before or after the *Pró* + noun + *Pro* combination. Some speakers also allow this construction with kinship terms used in core or extended pronominal senses, as in (7).

- (7) *əpʰe ko əpʰe kai' tɛ*
 father DO father bite realis
 Father (or some older man) bites himself./Father, you bite yourself.

As for the /*kó ko ko*/ construction, literate speakers disagree as to the spelling which should be used for these spoken-style reflexives. It is usual to write the *Pró* + /*ko*/ + *Pro* reflexive with the noun ကိုယ် 'body' rather than the object marker ကို /*ko*/ in the middle, but some people prefer the latter. The former implies an analysis possessive *Pro* + 'body' + (subject/object) *Pro*, parallel to the ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကို spelling of /*kó ko ko*/; the latter suggests object *Pro* in attributive form + object marker + subject *Pro*, parallel to the ကိုယ်ကိုကိုယ် spelling of /*kó ko ko*/.

It is more likely that the /*kó ko ko*/ and *Pró* + body-part noun + *Pro* constructions are parallel and both derived from a two-NP OS structure. In this the object comprises possessive pronoun (reflexive or non-reflexive) + 'body' or other body-part NP; the following subject is an identical non-possessive pronoun; as the two are linked there cannot be a pause between them. This overcomes the problems of lack of voicing of the putative object marker and lack of creak of the form preceding the putative object marker which make both of the spellings of /*kó ko ko*/ dubious. Effectively, it is here suggested that etymologically and syntactically /*kó ko ko*/ ought to be spelled ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကိုယ်.

A further possibility for the form with no reflexive pronouns eliminates the ambiguity by having both present, as in (8) which is otherwise identical to (4a) above; in this case the object marker voices as would normally be expected, and there is often a pause after the object marker. In effect, this is another argument against the analysis of the medial /*ko*/ in *Pró* + body-part noun + *Pro* as the object marker and thus for the analysis proposed here.

- (8) cənó ko go cəno yai' tɛ
 my body DO I hit realis
 I hit my own body (i.e. myself).

The literary reflexive also supports this analysis, showing in its direct object form /mímí/ 'self('s) + /ko/ 'body' plus optionally, as in (8), the voiced /go/ form of the object marker /ko/. As it is unusual in diglossia for the syntactic structure as opposed to the forms employed to differ too greatly, this parallelism is another argument for the analysis proposed here. On the other hand, those literate speakers who write the middle /ko/ in both constructions with the object marker ၵို /ko/ may have restructured their two spoken reflexives to a new analysis as direct object Pro + object marker + subject Pro; but they still do not have juncture voicing for the middle /ko/, reflecting the original structure as retained by others.

The earliest example of a literary reflexive is in the first extant inscription, the 'Myazedi' from 1112 AD (part of lines 14-16).

- (9) *Thuiw Rajākumar mañ su pay mayā sā*
 that Rajakumar named one who dear wife son

 mimi kiew muy so maṅgrī klañjo
 self's body raise one who great king thanks

 okmi ra kã.
 below get PF

The son of the beloved wife, who was called Rajakumar, called to mind the favours of the king who had nurtured him.

(Taw Sein Ko & Duroiselle 1919:25)

Note that the reflexive is the direct object in a relative clause, showing that reflexivisation for direct objects did continue beyond the clause in which they are subject, even at that early stage. Moreover, unlike modern Burmese, the reflexive in the relative clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, which is not the head of the relative; see (21b) below for the modern situation. The form of the Old Burmese reflexive is the same as the modern literary form, as is usually the case when modern spoken and written forms differ.

The full modern literary direct object reflexive is /mí mí/ plus optionally the possessive marker /i/ and then obligatorily the noun /ko/ 'body', optionally followed by the object marker /go/ in its juncture-voiced form. Unlike the spoken /kó ko ko/ reflexive, /mí mí/ may also be pluralised by the addition of /dó/; naturally this precedes the various markers to give a maximal /mí mí dó í ko go/ 'our/your/themselves'

Unlike the reflexive, the direct object reciprocal is expressed with the reduplicated deverbal adverb ချင်ချင် : *chìn jìn*/, as in (10) below; usually but not obligatorily this also contains the verb marker ငါး /*cá*/ 'plural/multiple action' as a reciprocal must involve more than one actor doing something. This plural marker may also occur in reflexives with plural subjects as in (6b), (6c) and (6g) above.

- (10) *θu dó chìn jìn yai' cá dε*
 he PL each other hit PL realis
 They hit each other.

As in many other similar cases, the distinction between literary and spoken reflexive forms is gradually breaking down; this usually involves literary forms being brought into occasional spoken use. Indeed, quite a few expressions with /*mí mí*/ are now heard in more formal spoken Burmese. Conversely, spoken Burmese forms can also filter into informal prose. The following example is the first sentence of a short story published in 1982 by Ma Sanda.⁹

- (11) *U Maun Maun La' θi hman the dwin θúkoθu əθeəcha*
 U Maung Maung Lat Subject glass on inside himself carefully
cí mí θi
 look at by accident-realis
 U Maung Maung Lat happened to look at himself carefully in the glass.

In (11) /*θú ko θu*/ is written သူ့ကိုယ်သူ, as it would be by most literate Burmans. Despite the presence of a mainly spoken-form reflexive, all the noun and verb markers here have their literary forms; see Bradley (1993) for further examples of these differences.

5.2 POSSESSOR

One of the most frequent occurrences of the reflexive other than as a direct object is in proverbs. These have the form ကိုယ် /*kó*/ + noun + ကိုယ် /*ko*/ + verb; they can be converted to literary or spoken style by the addition of the appropriate final verb markers. The first /*kó*/ is a possessive, and the second is a subject pronominal reflexive form which is no longer productive otherwise, but survives in this proverb construction which remains mildly productive, as well as in some adverbials discussed below. Some examples follow.

- (12) *kó à ko kò*
 self's strength self depend on
 Depend on one's own strength.
- (13) *kó làn ko fa*
 self's road self look for
 Find one's own way.

⁹ This is cited in Allott (1990).

- (14) *kó əlou' ko lou'*
 self's work self work
 Mind one's own business.

There are some other proverbs without the possessive, such as the following which also shows SVO order, but these are unusual and much less productive.

- (15) *ko thin gədin fwe nən*
 self think bed palace
 A bed is a golden palace if one thinks so (lit. think one's bed is a palace).

Some other proverbs combine elements in different ways, as in (16) below, where the second part of the sentence has a particle following the subject /ko/.

- (16) *kó wùn na ko ða θí*
 self's belly hurt self only know
 Only oneself knows one's own bellyache (problem).

Apart from these syntactically aberrant proverbial reflexives, it has been argued above that the origin of the direct object reflexive, and its current structure in literary and (for most speakers) spoken Burmese, is underlyingly from a possessive pronoun plus the noun ဂံဝ် /ko/ 'body' and then an identical pronoun. It will be seen below that a similar structure can be postulated for reflexives in the /ko/ + Noun construction. In both cases a reanalysis has become possible as a result of the grammaticalisation of this noun to an object marker, homophonous with 'body' but written differently as ဂံ and behaving differently by voicing in close juncture with the preceding nominal element which acquires an attributive creaky tone on its final syllable if it is not already creaky.

The literary possessive reflexive is /mí mí/ or, with the literary possessive marker, /mí mí í/; plural /mí mí dó/ or /mí mí dó í/. As these already have creaky tone on their final syllables, they can have possessive meaning with or without the marker, as seen in the direct object forms which are optionally without the /í/. These are used much more productively with NPs than /kó/, and may even be heard in spoken Burmese as possessive reflexives. The following example is in a complement clause; the main clause lacks an overt subject but the context suggests 'we'.

- (17) *mí mí tàin pyi kàun aun cò zà myi*
 self's country good in order that try irrealis
 (We) will try to make our own country better.

5.3 SUBJECT INTENSIFIER AND OTHER ADVERBIALS

Apart from the archaic or proverbial usage of /ko/ alone as a subject pronoun as in (15) above, the main reflexive-like form used adverbially after the subject is /ko dain/ as in (18) below; this also may occur without a subject pronoun as in (19), in which case it is ambiguous out of context. Some speakers reject sentences like (19) and (20) and require a subject noun or pronoun to immediately precede /ko dain/.

- (18) *θu kodain lou' tɛ*
 he/she self-INT do realis
 He/she does/did it him/herself.

- (19) *ko dain lou' tɛ*
 self-INT do realis
 Someone (probably I unless context shows otherwise) does it himself.

This form cannot be pluralised by the addition of the pronoun plural marker /dó/; if plurality is to be indicated at all, it must be elsewhere in the sentence, for example using the verbal marker /cá/ as in (20) or plural marking on the subject nominal if that is present.

- (20) *ko dain lou' cá dɛ*
 self-INT do PL realis
 Some people (probably we unless context shows otherwise) do it themselves.

While the object reflexive operates as a unit within which a pause is not usually possible, a pause is normally required between the subject nominal and /ko dain/; furthermore, like the other reflexives, the initial /k/ does not voice to /g/. Both of these phonological facts imply that /ko dain/ is a separate, appositional constituent which immediately follows the subject; it is unusual for the two to be separated by any other constituent.

Like /kó ko ko/, the form /ko dain/ can occur in embedded clauses; for example in (21a); but /ko dain/ must be coreferential with the underlying subject of the clause in which it stands, not necessarily the subject of the main clause. Likewise, (21b) with /kó ko ko/ in a relative clause is also not ambiguous; it must be coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause, 'person', and not the subject of the main clause, 'I'; this phenomenon may be related to the fact that only a third person nominal can be the head of a relative clause, as noted below; but see also (9) above, which indicates that this constraint was not operating in Old Burmese. Sentence (21c) also shows that the constraint on multiple /ko/ object marker in one sentence can extend beyond a single clause.

- (21) a. *ko dain yai' té lu go cəno θí dɛ*
 self INT hit REL person O I (male) know realis
 I know the person who himself hits (someone).
 b. *kó ko ko yai' té lu go cəno θí dɛ*
 self hit REL person O I (male) know realis
 I know the person who hit himself.

c.	<i>cənó</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>yai' tɛ́</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>cəno</i>	<i>θí</i>	<i>dɛ</i>
	I (male)	O	hit	REL	person	I (male)	know realis
	I know the person who hit me.						

The literary equivalent of /ko dain/ is /mí mí ko dain/, which quite often occurs without any pronominal form in the sentence. In effect the reflexive /mí mí/ is functioning as the head pronoun here. Again, unlike the spoken reflexive form /ko/, a plural is possible for this literary form: /mí mí dó ko dain/.

Burmese also uses a number of other adverbial reflexive forms; for example /ko zi/ 'each person acting separately', /ko thu/ 'by oneself', /ko dù/ 'alone', /ko bain/ 'under one's own control, one's own'. These all appear to contain a fossilised reflexive subject pronoun. Most of these reflexive adverbials also have elaborate¹⁰ four-syllable alternatives. For /ko dain/ the elaborate form is /ko dain ko ja'/ or /ko dain ko já'; for /ko zi/ it is either simply reduplicated /ko zi ko zi/ or /ko zi ko ǵá/ which has an additional meaning: 'each person acting separately, but with the same purpose in mind'. The elaborate for /ko thu/ is /ko thu ko thá'; for /ko dù/ it is /ko dù ko chan/. Interestingly, there is juncture voicing of most unaspirated and some aspirated voiceless stops within these adverbials, unlike the direct object reflexives which do not voice.

Instead of an adverbial reflexive, it is occasionally possible to use the direct object /kó ko/ in subject position with the meaning 'alone', as in the following; of course there are other ways to express this with an adverbial reflexive or a non-reflexive which are much more frequent.

- (22) *kóko ko* *θwà dɛ*
 self go realis
 Someone (most likely I) goes alone, by him/herself.

Most speakers reject sentences like (22) when presented in isolation, but they do occur in Burmese discourse.

5.4 POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE PLUS OTHER NOMINALS

A variety of nouns occur in the construction ကိုယ်နဲ့ /kó/ + Noun; the most frequent examples are the pronominal /ha/ 'thing' and the nouns /pha ða/ 'behalf' and /'ətwe'/ 'sake'. This, like the proverb and adverbial usages above, is effectively a reflexive, in this case possessive and therefore with creaky tone. It is exactly paralleled by corresponding non-reflexive forms with other pronouns in possessive form as in (23b) and (23d) below.

¹⁰ This term is due to Matisoff (1982); it refers to formal ABAC or ABCB reduplications corresponding to the usual AB forms. Often the C form is etymologically interesting as it may preserve an otherwise lost cognate.

- (23) a. *cəno kó pha ða əlou' lou' tɛ*
 I (male) self's behalf work do realis
 I work for myself.
- b. *θu cənó pha ða əlou' lou' tɛ*
 he/she my behalf work do realis
 He/she works for me.
- c. *cəno kó pha ða saou' tə ou' wɛ dɛ*
 I (male) self's sake book one CLF buy realis
 I buy myself a book.
- d. *θu cənó ətwɛ' saou' tə ou' wɛ dɛ*
 he/she my sake book one CLF buy realis
 He/she buys me a book.

An indirect object or other non-core case can only occur with a reflexive in a construction like this. There is an elaborate four-syllable /pha ðípha ða/ form of /pha ða/ which, unusually for these elaborate expressions in Burmese, has the free form second rather than first.

The literary equivalent of these /ko/ + Noun constructions is /mí mí/ + Noun, for example /mí mí ətwɛ'/ as in the following example.¹¹

- (24) *lu dó ði mí mí dó ətwɛ' əcò jí aun*
 person PL S self PL sake benefit have in order to
 in order for people to have some benefit for themselves...

5.5 EMBEDDED, CONJOINED AND LINKED CLAUSES

Given the flexibility of order of NPs in a Burmese sentence, it is possible that embedded clauses may be preceded by the subject of the main clause; indeed a sentence like (24) above may be interpreted in this alternative way, taking /lu dó ði/ as subject of the top clause which continues after the complement, rather than as subject of the complement itself. On the other hand some types of embedded clauses, such as relative clauses, normally precede their heads; so it is also possible for the antecedent of the reflexive in such an embedded clause to follow its coreferential reflexive, as in the following examples showing the two alternative spoken forms. As in most languages, relative clauses in Burmese occur mainly with third person heads.

- (25) a. *kó ko ko yai' té lu məkàun bù*
 self hit REL person NEG good NEG
 The person who hits himself is not good.

¹¹ This is cited in Allott (1990), from a Burmese primary school textbook. It is typical of countries with diglossia that schools teach only the literary High; this of course makes the education system much more difficult and less useful for nearly half of Burma's population whose first language is another dialect or language.

- b. *θú ko θu yai' té lu məkàun bù*
 self hit REL person NEG good NEG
 The person who hits himself is not good.

In general the tendency to zero anaphora in Burmese is very strong, especially within the sentence; it is very bad style to repeat pronouns all through a long sentence or short discourse. Therefore many sentences which might be candidates for reflexivisation in other languages have little or no overt pronominalisation in Burmese. The reflexive is a highly topical and marked construction, and where semantically motivated it may also occur within non-main clauses embedded in a complex sentence, in conjoined clauses of a compound sentence, or even in a later sentence in the same discourse. Sentence (9) above shows that this has been the case since the earliest attested Burmese inscriptions; sentence (21b) above shows that the reflexive can now refer only to the subject of the relative clause, but (9) shows that in Old Burmese it could refer back to the subject of the main clause if this differs.

In Burmese, it is unusual to have more than one reflexive in a clause; thus combinations like the following are considered to be very bad style (though some speakers accept combinations like (26b) which involve two reflexives neither of which is /*kó ko ko*/).

- (26) a. **cəno ko dain kó ko ko yai' té*
 I (my)self self DO hit realis
 I myself hit myself.
- b. *??cəno ko dain ko ətwe' sa ou' we de*
 I (my)self for (my)self book buy realis
 I myself buy myself a book.
- c. **cəno kó ko ko ko ətwe' yai' té*
 I (my)self DO for (my)self hit realis
 I hit myself for my own sake.

There is a similar surface constraint on the spoken object marker /*ko*/, which normally may occur on only one NP in a clause. However the relevant Pro or noun still may show the creaked form as if it had the following /*ko*/, so this may be a surface deletion. Where two or more such NPs are present, it is usually an animate NP which is marked, as in the following sentences; see also (21c) above, which shows that the constraint may also extend over more than one clause of a sentence. This phenomenon reflects the origin of /*ko*/ from 'body' and the tendency for /*ko*/ to be used more frequently with animate objects in early inscriptions, as discussed in Bradley (1993).

- (27) a. *cəno sa ou' tə ou' θú go pè de*
 I book one book he/she DO give realis
 I gave him/her a book.

- b. *khəmyà cənó go sa ou' tə ou' θú pè ze dε*
 you I O book one CLF him/her give cause realis
 You make me give him/her a book.
- c. *khəmyà cənó sa ou' tə ou' θú go pè ze dε*
 you me book one CLF he/she O give cause realis
 You make me give him/her a book.

The literary /mí mí/ reflexive also occurs in non-main clauses in the same ways; for an example see sentence (17) above.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In summary, the reflexive in Burmese has three forms: the earliest, still used in literary style, is /mí mí/; as will be demonstrated below, this may have had a reflexive function in Burmese-Lolo and ultimately derives from a Tibeto-Burman etymon meaning 'person'. More recently the noun /ko/ 'body' has grammaticalised and become a spoken-style reflexive, and most recently this latter construction has been used analogically to produce a third reflexive pattern using any pronoun in place of the /ko/ form and a variety of other body-part nouns as alternatives to /ko/. The analogy is confused by the fact that the noun 'body' has also become independently and somewhat more opaquely grammaticalised into the object marker /ko/ ~ /go/, and this has affected the spelling of the two spoken reflexives.

6. REFLEXIVES IN OTHER BURMISH LANGUAGES

The various dialects of Burmese such as western Arakanese and south-eastern Tavoyan each with substantial numbers of speakers, as well as the smaller subgroups such as north-western Yaw and north-eastern Danu, Taungyo and Intha, all share virtually the same original pronoun system. This is doubtless due partly to shared inheritance and partly to continuing influence from standard Burmese. Details are presented in Bradley (1993). Unfortunately very little data on the reflexive in these dialects is available, but words for 'body' show various connections. In dialects of Burmese such as Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan (Okell 1995) the form for 'body' is identical, /ko/. In more distant dialects it differs slightly; for example Taungyo has /kə/, prefixed /ʔəkə/, or /təkələn/ with 'one' preceding and the classifier for round things following (Yabu 1981:162). Yaw (Yabu 1980:169) has /ʔəkogaun/ showing a prefix, then reflexes of two Sino-Tibetan etyma; or like Taungyo /dəgolôun/ with 'one' preceding and the round classifier following, or a Burmanised /khendago/ showing the Pali loan *khandā*, also seen in Burmese but usually alone or in the other order, /ko khanda/. The Hpun form /ātù/ 'body' (Luce 1985, Henderson 1986) links this language more closely with the other Burmish and Loloish languages than with Burmese itself.

The remaining Burmish languages form a subgroup quite separate from Burmese and its dialects. Socially they fall into the orbit of the Kachin culture complex (see Bradley in Wurm/Mühlhäusler forthcoming) but linguistically their languages are much closer to Burmese than to anything else. Indeed, prior to the descent of the proto-Burmans into the plains of Upper Burma which Luce (1985) estimates at the ninth century AD, they and the Burmans would have been together in the hills to the north-east of these plains, in what is now the Northern Shan State of Burma and the adjacent areas of westernmost Yunnan in China. They fall into two groups: southern Atsi, Maru and Pola and northern Lashi and Ngochang (also known as Achang in China). Within each group there are substantial dialect differences; and as different groups live together in the same village and intermarry, there is a lot of bilingualism between these languages and also with Jinghpaw Kachin (a fairly distantly related Tibeto-Burman language) as well as with Burmese (which is much closer). Most of the more than 300,000 speakers of these languages are enumerated as members of the Kachin group in official statistics; and indeed they use the Jinghpaw Kachin language as their medium of literacy. Atsi forms are from Xu and Xu (1984), while Ngochang are from Dai and Cui (1985).

TABLE 2: BURMISH REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

	reflexive	body
Atsi	/yum ⁵¹ siŋ ⁵¹ /	/kuŋ ⁵¹ tu ²¹ /
Ngochang		
Longchuan	-	/a ²¹ tu ²¹ /
Luxi	-	/koŋ ²¹ tɔ ²¹ /
Lianghe	-	/a ²¹ to ³⁵ /

Most other available Burmish words for 'body' relate either to Sino-Tibetan **guŋ*, Burmese-Lolo **goŋ*¹, or to Burmese-Lolo **daw*³, or these two together in this order. For example, Pola /kauŋ³¹ to⁷³¹/ (Dai & Xu 1983) and Chinese Maru /kauŋ³¹ tau³⁵/ (Dai et al. 1985) fit with Chinese Atsi and Luxi Ngochang. Northernmost Lashi provides a link to Nungish with its one-syllable forms /kuŋ³³/ or /kuŋ³¹/; compare Rawang and Eastern Dulong forms given below.

7. REFLEXIVES IN LOLOISH LANGUAGES

Details will be given on reflexives in three well-described Loloish languages, from the three main branches of Loloish as reconstructed in Bradley (1979). For Central Loloish this is Lahu, with some further information on Lisu, Lipo and Jino. For Northern Loloish the Shengza variety of Nosu in Sichuan is illustrated, with further examples from a variety of more or less closely related languages in China's Yi nationality. For Southern Loloish the

main example is Akha, but some information on cognate forms in some related languages is also cited. Unfortunately reflexives are not included in the data on Bailang, a Loloish language of what is now western Yunnan transcribed into Chinese in the first century AD and thus the earliest recorded Tibeto-Burman language.

7.1 CENTRAL LOLOISH

The best-described modern Burmese-Lolo language is Lahu, largely due to the work of Matisoff in his grammar (1982), dictionary (1988) and many other publications on Black Lahu. Also relevant is the much less extensive dictionary of Lewis (1986). Forms are cited here in Matisoff's transcription.

The reflexive in Lahu is formed by suffixing the noun /ə-to/ 'body' to the pronoun, which may be a stem form or one with suffixes; the following is an example.

- (28) *ŋà-hi* *ve* *ə-to* *dāʔ* *tù* *ve* *ə-lo* *thàʔ* *ǵā* *šī* *ve* *yò*
 we (EXC) GEN body good PUR REL thing ACC must know PF PF
 We must know what to do in order to make ourselves good.
 (Matisoff 1988:167)

While Matisoff provides a convincing Shan/Dai source¹² for the Lahu noun 'body', there is growing evidence for a Burmese-Lolo form **daw*³ 'body' in a variety of languages, many but not all in close contact with Dai languages. If this is indeed a Burmese-Lolo etymon, it shows rhyme irregularities in several languages and was at least influenced by the similar Dai word. For further discussion see Bradley (1993).

There is a separate intensifier for the subject: Pro + /qhe/ 'like' + Pro, as in:

- (29) *yô* *qhe yô* *te* *ve*
 he/she like he/she do PF declarative
 He/she did/does it (by) himself.

This form is semantically but not of course syntactically analogous to Burmese ကိုယ်တိုင် /ko dain/; see the parallel example (18) above. Like Burmese /kó ko ko/ or Pró + /ko/ + Pro, it is not possible to pause in the middle of Lahu Pro + /qhe/ + Pro.

Lisu is spoken by about 850,000 people, mainly in north-western and western Yunnan in China, with large numbers in north-eastern Burma and some in northern Thailand and north-eastern India. It has a variety of dialects; Bradley (1994) is a dictionary of the two predominant ones, northern and central. Hope (forthcoming) describes southern Lisu, and Metcalf (forthcoming) describes what is sometimes called eastern Lisu but is more usually known as Lipo or Lolopo and is rather different from the first three; in China this is now

¹² The corresponding Thai form is /tua/, which of course also figures in the Thai reflexive /tuaʔeey/, literally 'one's own body'.

classified as Central Yi, with several hundred thousand speakers in northern central Yunnan. Forms are given here from the northern dialect (data from Bradley 1994) and Lipo (data from Metcalf forthcoming). The reflexive in Lisu is innovative /tɕi⁵⁵tɕ^hɛ²¹/ from a noun 'self', perhaps a Chinese borrowing. In Lipo and Lolopo reflexive pronouns are formed by Pro + /mɛ⁵⁵/ + Pro, for example /ya²¹mɛ⁵⁵ya²¹/ 'him/herself', with the middle syllable a likely cognate to the Burmese literary reflexive. Similarly in Lalu ('Western Yi') the reflexive is Pro + /mɛ³³/ or /mɛ²¹/.

The Jino are China's most recently recognised nationality; they now number about 18,000 and are concentrated in a small area of south-western Yunnan just west of the northern tip of Laos. Despite this small number, there are fairly large internal dialect differences which the standard description of Gai (1986) notes. The main dialect is spoken by about ninety per cent of the Jino. Like Lahu, it has a likely cognate of *daw³ in its reflexive /k^hɔ⁴⁴to³³/.

7.2 NORTHERN LOLOISH

In China the Yi nationality of some 6.6 million was established after 1950, from various groups formerly called by the name Lolo. Chinese sources classify it into six separate subgroups, each speaking distinct languages. Central Yi includes Lipo and Lolopo, is in fact very closely related to Lisu, and is thus Central Loloish. Western Yi including Lalu and a variety of other subgroups is also fairly close to Central Loloish. The remaining four subgroups all had related but distinct traditional writing systems; the Northern Yi who call themselves Nosu and the Eastern Yi most of whom call themselves Nasu are quite closely related, but each has substantial internal diversity. More distant are the Southern Yi, many of whom call themselves Nisu or Nesu, and the Southeastern Yi which includes Sani, Axi (Ahsi, Ahi) and some other groups. A few Southern Yi also live in Vietnam.

The largest 'Yi' group is the Nosu of Sichuan and northern Yunnan, with over two million speakers, a large number of whom are monolingual. Nosu pronominal forms are cited from the Shengza dialect, centred on Xide in southern Sichuan, from Chen et al. (1985:120).

As in some Central and Southern Loloish languages, there are separate possessive/attributive forms for the singular pronouns: /ŋa⁵⁵/ 'my', /ni⁵⁵/ 'your (singular)', /ts^hz²¹/ 'his/her'. One of the reflexive forms is a reduplication of this attributive form, singular /ŋa⁵⁵ŋa⁵⁵/ 'myself', /ni⁵⁵ni⁵⁵/ 'yourself', and with 21 > 44 sandhi /ts^hz²¹ts^hz⁴⁴/ 'him/herself', while the plural is a reduplicated form of the fused one syllable plural with a sandhi tone on the second syllable.¹³

¹³ There are several sandhi processes by which 33 or 21 tones in Nosu change to the 44 tone; see Bradley (1990) for more details, including the plural reflexive forms.

Another more general reflexive is /tsz⁵⁵tɕe³³/ or /tsz⁵⁵tɕa³³/, perhaps derived from Chinese /zǐjǐ/. Further reflexives include Pro + /yi²¹/, /yi²¹yi³³/ or /yi²¹du³³/; and Pro + /vi³³/ + Pro. While none of these can be related to the Burmese reflexive, there is a form /mi²¹yi⁵⁵/ 'everyone' which also shows the likely process of development from Tibeto-Burman 'person' to Burmese-Lolo 'people, everyone'; further developments to 'one', 'oneself' and a reflexive form are quite widespread in Northern Loloish as seen in Table 3 below.

Nasu or Eastern Yi is extremely widespread and probably covers much of the traditional territory of the Northern Loloish group. This includes north central and north-eastern Yunnan and western Guizhou. Indeed the Samei variety of Eastern Yi under its former name Cuan was probably the local language of the Kunming area, the capital of Yunnan, prior to the influx of the Chinese more than a millenium ago, and some remnant communities remain. The most divergent variety is spoken in south-western Guizhou around Panxian. Forms in Yi Historical Documents Section (1984), the Dafang and Panxian reflexives cited in Table 3 below, look similar to the Nosu form that is borrowed from Chinese; but the Samei reflexive and 'everyone' in Samei and some other Eastern Yi varieties shows the cognate form.

For Nisu or Southern Yi, the reflexives of some varieties show cognate forms, while all have the cognate in the 'everyone' meaning, as shown in Table 3 below. All South-eastern Yi varieties have the cognate both for the reflexive and for 'everyone'; in addition, Sani (Jin et al. 1984) has an alternative reflexive Pro + /tu³³tu³³/; this shows a cognate with the *daw³ reflexives in other Loloish languages. A source with more varieties but much less syntactic information is Yunnan (1983) which cites forms from 28 varieties of 'Yi'. Fifteen of the 24 varieties which are Northern Loloish have cognate forms as shown in Table 3; also included are reflexives from Shuangbo, Dafang and Panxian cited from Yi Historical Documents Section (1984).

TABLE 3: NORTHERN LOLOISH REFLEXIVES¹⁴

		'someone'	reflexive
Northern	Nosu	/mi ²¹ yi ⁵⁵ /	(various, see above)
	Sondi	/ʔi ²² mi ³³ /	/tsz ⁵⁵ tɕe ³³ /
Eastern	(Xundian)	/mɔ ³³ mɔ ²¹ /	(= Pro)
	(Luoping)	/a ³³ mə ³³ /	Pro + /zɯ ²¹ /
	(Weining)	/me ²¹ me ³³ /	Pro + /ʔo ²¹ dy ²¹ /
	(Dafang)		/tsz ⁵⁵ tɕi ²¹ /
	(Panxian)		/tsz ⁵⁵ tsa ³³ /
	Samei	/ə ³³ mə ⁵⁵ /	/ə ⁵⁵ mə ⁵⁵ /

¹⁴ Non-parenthesised names are autonyms; parenthesised names are names of the county where that variety is spoken. Most of the latter call themselves Nasu, Nesu or Nisu so autonyms are not very useful in distinguishing them.

South-eastern	Sani	/A ⁴² mɛ ⁵⁵ /	/A ²¹ mɛ ⁵⁵ /
	Azhe	/A ²² mæ ³³ /	/A ²² mæ ³³ /
	Axi	/A ³³ mA ²² /	/A ³³ mA ²² /
	Azha	/A ²¹ mur ⁵⁵ /	/A ²¹ mur ⁵⁵ mur ⁵⁵ /
	(Funing)	/moŋ ³⁵ /	/moŋ ³⁵ /
Southern	(Xinping)	/A ⁵⁵ məɽ ³³ /	Pro + /gur ⁵⁵ gur ⁵⁵ /
	(Shiping)	/A ⁵⁵ mɛ ³³ /	Pro + /vi ⁵⁵ vi ⁵⁵ /
	(Jiangcheng)	/A ⁵⁵ mɛ ³³ /	/A ⁵⁵ mɛ ³³ /
	(Eshan)	/A ⁵⁵ mɛ ²² /	Pro + /kɿ ⁵⁵ kɿ ⁵⁵ /
	(Shuangbo)		/ʔa ⁵⁵ mɛ ³³ /

In summary, the Northern Loloish languages show a range of reflexives, including some possibly borrowed from Chinese, some based on the Burmese-Lolo etymon for 'body' derived from **daw*³, and many showing a possible cognate for the literary Burmese form. Of the latter, seven have a reflexive meaning, and fifteen have the 'everyone/people' meaning. The reflexive use is found in three of four branches, while the 'everyone' use is found in all four branches.

7.3 SOUTHERN LOLOISH

Akha is spoken by a population approaching 600,000 in Burma, south-western Yunnan in China, northern Laos and northern Thailand. In China they form part of the composite Hani nationality, which has another million people including some 700,000 who speak extremely similar Hani dialects or other closely related varieties such as Haoni, and another 300,000 or so who speak other Southern Loloish languages such as Khatu (Chinese Kaduo) in China and Laos, Piyo (Chinese Biyue) in China, or Mpi in Thailand. Akha forms are cited from Lewis (1989).¹⁵

The reflexive and the intensifier both use /ha/, the same marker as seen in the third (absent) pronoun; in the reflexive this marker shows a tonal alternation. The intensifiers are /ŋà ha/ 'I myself', /nə ha/ 'you yourself' and /a ha/ 'he/she him/herself'. After these forms the dual marker /ɲà/ or the plural marker /mà/ may be added. The reflexive is /yò há yò ha/; if it is not third person, the first or second person subject form pronoun may be prefixed to this to disambiguate it. The corresponding form in northern Akha as spoken in parts of China is /ya³³/, and in closely-related Hani it is /ya³³/, and in Haoni /yɔ³¹/; other such northern examples of /y/ are noted in Bradley (1979:40). In this case the Akha/Hani form reflects a *w initial. The full reflexive /ɜv³¹yɔ³¹/ in Haoni (Li & Wang 1986:147) also corresponds well to the Akha/Hani form. Interestingly, there is a creaky tone in the Akha third person animate

¹⁵ The transcription is derived from that used in China, and indicates creaky syllables with an underline, high tone with an acute, and low tone with a grave accent.

pronoun /á yò/ which is irregular and unexpected; but it is absent in the corresponding reflexive form /yò/.

8. RECONSTRUCTION OF BURMESE-LOLO REFLEXIVE FORMS

There are various reflexive pronoun cognates of Burmese မိမိ /mí mí/ in a wide variety of Northern and Central Loloish forms all reflecting a likely Burmese-Lolo etymon, Burmish **mi³mi³* reduplicated and Loloish **may²*. The Burmese *Tone 3/Loloish *Tone 2 difference is not unparalleled; see Bradley (1979:216) for other examples which include such excellent cognates, also with Burmese high vowels, as **Cnu^{3/2}* ‘soft’, **sɪ^{3/2}* ‘know’ and others; and the rhyme difference is also not unusual, given the instability of front vowels in early Burmese. This Burmese-Lolo reflexive appears to be related to the widespread Tibeto-Burman etymon **mi* ‘person’, not otherwise attested in Burmese-Lolo; the semantic shift is natural enough.

Starting from ‘person, people’, the first shift to ‘everyone’ is quite natural; this meaning is still found in a variety of Northern Loloish languages, and is reflected in the generic ‘one, oneself’ meaning of Burmese /mí mí/ (and its spoken equivalent /kó ko ko/) alone. The further generalisation to a wider reflexive use is found in Burmese as well as a number of Northern and Central Loloish languages.

Nouns for ‘body’ are also prominent as grammaticalised forms including denominal pronouns. From the Sino-Tibetan cognate reconstructed as **s-ku*, Burmese-Lolo **s-ko¹* come the Burmese object marker and the Burmese reflexive /ko/, also more recently used as a second or first person pronoun in Burmese. From another Sino-Tibetan etymon, **guŋ*, Burmese-Lolo **goŋ¹* comes the modern Burmese classifier for animals as well as the reflexive in some Burmish languages. From a third etymon for ‘body’ widespread in Burmish and Loloish, **daw³*, come a variety of Loloish reflexive forms; this may be partially blended with Dai forms from Dai **tua⁴*; there are various sporadic extra-Burmese-Lolo reflexive cognates in various branches of Tibeto-Burman as well. Though not attested in Burmese itself with the meaning ‘body’, it appears to be the source of the Burmese pronoun pluraliser /tó/ and more recently a first person plural (inclusive) form by reanalysis; this may also be connected with some Burmish as well as Nungish pronoun plural suffixes, as described in Bradley (1993). Many other Burmish languages reflect a two-syllable compound form from **guŋ¹ daw³* or **ʔədaw³* for the noun ‘body’,¹⁶ and other combinations of these etyma also occur.

¹⁶ For more details see Bradley (forthcoming).

9. REFLEXIVES IN RELATED TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES

According to the conventional classifications of Shafer (1966-73) and Benedict (1972), Burmese-Lolo (Shafer's Burmish Section) includes Naxi (Nakhi, Moso) of north-western Yunnan, the Xifan (Hsifan) languages of western Sichuan, and extinct Xixia (Hsi-hsia, also known to Turkic groups as Tangut) formerly spoken further north still. Benedict (1972:8) indicates that Nungish (Trung or Dulong, Nu, Rawang of northernmost Burma and adjacent areas to the east in northernmost Yunnan in China) "stands fairly close to the Burmese-Lolo nucleus, yet has numerous points of contact with Kachin" while Shafer groups a variety of other languages including Jinghpaw Kachin, the Luish or Sak group, Mru, Chairel, Taman and Kuki-Chin-Southern Naga along with Nungish and Burmish or Burmese-Lolo into his higher-order Burmic Division. Shafer's classification has been superseded by the grouping of the Sal languages proposed by Burling (1983) which instead links Jinghpaw Kachin, Northern Naga and the Luish or Sak group on the basis of substantial shared innovative lexicon. Chinese linguists have arrived at a classification which includes Naxi and Bai (of north-western Yunnan) and Tujia (of western Hunan and Hubei and eastern Sichuan and Guizhou) with Loloish. Conversely, Sun (1983) demonstrated links within the Qiang group in which he includes Qiang and the various Xifan languages (Pumi, Shixing, Namuyi, Choyo, Ersu or Tosu, Muya, Guiching, Zaba, Ergong, Jiarong (rGyarung) and the very diverse Qiang 'dialects') but not Burmese-Lolo; to this some other scholars have linked Baima in northern Sichuan. Adequate recent data on most of these Qiangic languages is lacking, but such data as is available does not support Shafer's proposed link with Burmese-Lolo. Thurgood (1984) suggests a Rung subgroup which is meant to include Nungish among other languages, as noted below. Data from a variety of these languages where some connection of genetic subgrouping within Tibeto-Burman or contact with Burmese-Lolo has been claimed is presented below. Other Tibeto-Burman subgroups are not discussed; these include Karen, Kuki-Chin, Baric, Kiranti and other Himalayish languages; for these such data as is available does not suggest any close links with Burmese-Lolo in the area of reflexives.

9.1 NAXI

Concerning Naxi, Bradley (1975) shows that it does not share such defining characteristics of core Burmese-Lolo as the development of *Tone 3 and regular correspondences for the *prenasalised voiced stops, among other things. However on lexical and other grounds it nevertheless fits very closely with Burmese-Lolo. The following data on Naxi is drawn from He and Jiang (1985).

TABLE 4: NAXI REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

	reflexive	'body'
W Naxi	/u ³³ tu ³³ u ²¹ /	/gv ³³ mu ³³ /
EXC Naxi	/to ²¹ ka ⁵⁵ /	/gv ³³ mi ³³ /

The etymon for 'body' is from the Sino-Tibetan etymon *s-ku, and the reflexive may be related to the Loloish reflexive from *daw³ 'body'.

9.2 NUNGISH

The following data on Nungish includes Rawang of northern Burma from R. Morse (n.d.) and from China, Dulong (two varieties, western and eastern) from Sun (1982) and Nusu further south from Sun and Liu (1986). There are many more local varieties in Burma, which S. Morse (1989) clusters into five subgroups; unfortunately he does not provide sufficient data for use here.

TABLE 5: NUNGISH REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

	reflexive	'body'
Rawang	Pro + /gón/	/gón/
Dulong E	/a ²¹ du ⁵³ / or /aŋ ¹ lũ ⁷⁵⁵ /	/gón ⁵³ /
W	/a ²¹ du ⁵³ /	/aŋ ²¹ gu ⁵⁵ /
Nusu N	/tsz ⁵⁵ tci ⁵³ /	/tɕ ^h z ²¹ gu ⁵⁵ /
C	/tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ tɕ ^h a ²¹ /	/tci ³⁵ gu ²¹ /
S	/tsz ²¹ tci ⁵³ /	/tci ⁵⁵ gu ²¹ /

The Nusu reflexive forms appear to be recent Chinese loans; but it is most tempting to connect the Dulong forms with those derived from *daw³ in Loloish. The cognate portions of forms for 'body' relate to one or other of the Sino-Tibetan etyma.

9.3 BAI AND TUJIA

The classification of Bai has long been problematic. Bai or Minchia as the local language around Dali in western Yunnan was probably the dominant language of the Nanchao kingdom, and contact with Chinese has been so intensive and longstanding that Chinese loanwords from a series of stages of Mandarin and other varieties have entered Bai and undergone subsequent phonological changes within Bai. Some scholars have given up and classified modern Bai as a Sinitic language because of this pervasive lexical influence. Chinese linguists prefer to regard it as a Loloish language, but various attempts to discover the pattern of correspondences have foundered on the problem of sorting out loanwords from various stages of a related language. Similarly, the recently described Tujia language formerly spoken in a large area of south-western Hubei, western Hunan, north-eastern Guizhou and south-eastern

Sichuan and still spoken by nearly 200,000 people in the centre of this area has been classified by Chinese linguists as Loloish. It is far to the east of any modern Tibeto-Burman language but is geographically closest to Northern Loloish at its easternmost extreme in north-western Guizhou and southern central Sichuan. Data on Bai is from Xu and Zhao (1984); Tujia forms are from Tian et al. (1986).

TABLE 6: BAI AND TUJIA REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

		reflexive	'body'
Bai	NE	/tu ⁴² tā ⁵⁵ jī ²¹ /	/ts ^h ē ⁵⁵ ku ²¹ /
	SE	/tā ³⁵ jī ²¹ tsi ³³ /	/ts ^h i ⁵⁵ k ^h ou ⁵⁵ ku ²¹ /
	W	/tuā ⁴⁴ tuā ⁴⁴ /	/tɕ ^h i ⁵⁵ gu ⁴² /
Tujia	N	/ko ³⁵ to ²¹ /	/so ⁵⁵ t ^h i ²¹ /, /so ⁵⁵ t ^h iu ²¹ /
	S	/tsho ³³ bo ³³ /	/to ⁵⁵ p ^h o ²¹ /

It is tempting but inconclusive to connect the second syllable of the northern Tujia, the first syllable of north-eastern Bai and the reduplicated western Bai reflexives to the Burmese-Lolo **daw*³ reconstructed form for 'body'; also the second syllable in northern Tujia and the first in southern Tujia. The lack of identity in every case between the reflexives and the corresponding nouns for 'body' suggests otherwise, however.

9.4 XIXIA

Most scholars assume that Xixia or Tangut, the extinct language formerly spoken to the north-east of Tibet in Gansu and Ningxia, was a Tibeto-Burman language; some have claimed that it was Loloish, but this appears to be incorrect. The Xixia reflexive is unrelated; the putative phonetic form cited with several sentence examples in Keping (1979:237-8) is /In¹/ for possessive, or (reduplicated) /In¹In¹/ for direct object form.

9.5 XIFAN

Like Xixia, this subgroup of languages was formerly linked with Burmese-Lolo, for example by Shafer (1966-74). However Sun (1983) has shown that there is a close internal link between these languages and Qiang; hence this subgroup of Tibeto-Burman is now usually called Qiangic. Included are Pumi as described in Lu (1983), Qiang as described in Sun (1981) and, according to some scholars (but not Sun), Baima of north central Sichuan as described in Nishida and Sun (1990). However, the reflexives like many other aspects of Baima imply a closer link with Tibetan and Bodic generally. Monpa forms are from Lu (1986). Apart from the general Tibeto-Burman cognate forms for various 'body' etyma, there is nothing here to link with reflexives in Burmese-Lolo, but there is a possible look-alike second syllable in the northern Qiang word for 'body'.

TABLE 7: XIFAN AND BODIC REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

		reflexive	'body'
Pumi	S	/niɑ ⁵⁵ /	/gə ¹³ hmu ¹³ /
	N	/pə ⁵⁵ ɣi ³⁵ /	/ly ³⁵ pu ⁵³ / (cf. Tibetan)
Qiang	S	/u ⁵⁵ sie ⁵⁵ /	/ɕe ⁵⁵ pe ³³ /
	N	/ɲuɲu/	/ku ti/
Baima		Pro ⁷³ + rɔ ¹³ ŋge ⁵³ /	/ky ¹³ ly ⁵³ /
Monpa/Dzalakha		/ɾaŋ ³ /	/lu ³⁵ po ⁵³ /
spoken Lhasa		/raŋ ⁵ /	/su ⁷ ku ⁵³ /
written		raŋ	lus(-po), gzugs, sku

9.6 RUNG

Thurgood (1984) has proposed a subgroup of Tibeto-Burman linking Xixia, various Qiangic languages including rGyarung (Jiarong) and those cited above, Jinghpaw/Kachin, the Nungish languages cited above, Luish or Sak, Miju/Kaman and Taraon Mishmi, Lepcha and various languages of western Nepal including Magar, Chepeng and Kham. This subgrouping has not gained wide acceptance.

Jinghpaw data is from Liu (1984); Mishmi data is from Sun et al. (1980); Lepcha is from Mainwaring (1898); Magar is from Shepherd and Shepherd (1972), Chepeng from Caughley (1972) and Kham from Watters and Watters (1973).

TABLE 8: RUNG REFLEXIVES AND 'BODY'

	reflexive	'body'
Jinghpaw	/ti ⁷⁵⁵ naŋ ³³ /	/k ^{hum} ²¹ /
Taraon Mishmi	/ɲoŋ ³⁵ xɑŋ ²¹ /	/tiuŋ ⁵⁵ /
Kaman Mishmi	/ɲo ⁵³ ki ⁵³ /	/ɕai ⁵³ /
Lepcha	Pro + do	zu, mǎzǔ, mǔ, mǔzǔ, ku, lu, lyǔ, lyu, puŋ, koŋ
Magar	/laha/	/jyu/
Chepeng	/lay ⁷ /	/ʔaŋ/, /kaa ⁷ /
Kham	/ol/	/ʔkyan/

Concerning the Taraon Mishmi reflexive, compare /ɲoŋ³⁵/ 'you' and /xɑŋ³⁵/ 'I'. Similarly, for Kaman Mishmi reflexive, compare /ɲo⁵³/ 'you' and /ki⁵³/ 'I'. These two forms appear to be derived from a first plural inclusive conjoined form – a novel source; none of the other reflexive forms here appear to derive from the noun for 'body' either. Note also the Jinghpaw second syllable, which is identical to the second person pronoun /naŋ³³/. None of these forms suggests a relationship between the languages of different Tibeto-Burman subgroups which Thurgood has placed in the Rung group, nor with anything specifically Burmese-Lolo.

9.7 LUISH OR SAK GROUP

Luish includes a number of small and mostly moribund languages of western Burma and adjacent areas of India. In Manipur, these were Andro, Sengmai and Chairel; in Burma, Sak, Ganan, Kadu and Taman. As noted above, Shafer groups these within his Burmic group, along with Burmese-Lolo, Nungish and a variety of other subgroups including Kuki-Chin-(Southern) Naga. Unfortunately almost no Luish data on the reflexive is available, apart from one Sak form, /à pa na/ 'myself' (Thùn Jwe Khain 1988:17); for 'body' Luce (1985 v.2:58) cites Sak /koʔ/, Ganan /koʔ/, Kadu /laŋʔ/ and Taman /tu/. Of these, the last may fit with Loloish **daw*³ 'body', while the first two belong with the Sino-Tibetan etymon **s-ku*, and Kadu may be linked with Gong (Burmese-Lolo) /hoŋ dúŋ/. In the absence of complete data, the connection is unclear.

9.8 MISINGISH (MIRISH, ABOR-MIRI-DAFLA)

Formerly known as Abor-Miri-Dafla from the previous and somewhat pejorative names used by outsiders to refer to the Adi, Mising and Nishi groups of what was formerly the North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA and is now Arunachal Pradesh, this subgroup of Tibeto-Burman has not received a great deal of attention, mainly due to a lack of well-recorded data. Each of these groups, especially the Adi, contains a large number of named subgroups; for some details see Marrison (1989) and Bradley in Moseley (1994). What is most likely an accidental look-alike reflexive form to the Loloish reflexive from **daw*³ 'body' is found in Apatani, a component of 'Dafla' or Nishi in western Arunachal Pradesh. This is /àtó/ as in the following sentence, cited from Simon (1972:7) with tones and glosses added from Abraham (1985, 1987).

- (30) *ŋo àtó únè gí to*
 I self wound pull PAST
 I hurt myself (lit. pulled myself a wound).

Overall, the reflexives in Tibeto-Burman languages for which various scholars have suggested a close relationship with Burmese-Lolo do not show close parallels in the pronominal form which is used; but there are some look-alike forms in more distantly related Tibeto-Burman languages such as Apatani and Lepcha.

10. CHINESE

The other subgroup of Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic or Chinese, has two longstanding reflexive pronouns, which Karlgren (1957) reconstructs as 1237m **dz'i*-, modern /zì/, and 953a **kjəg/kji*-, modern /jǐ/, whose modern reflexes are compounded into the modern Mandarin Chinese /zǐjǐ/ Harbsmeier (1981) convincingly demonstrates that the first was used in Classical

Chinese as an object reflexive, subject intensifier or adverbial (1981:189-199); while the second was a noun meaning 'self' extended into use as a contrastive reflexive pronoun and in embedded sentences to refer back to the subject of the main clause (1981:177-188). Of course this has no connection with the Burmese-Lolo forms, other than those in Northern Loloish which may be borrowings from the modern Mandarin Chinese two-syllable compound. Karlgren (1957:317) suggests that /zì/ "is said to be a drawing of a nose"; this reflexive may thus be derived from an earlier word for 'nose'. Karlgren also indicates that the character is used as a radical in 521c 'nose' and 1088a 'smell bad' which are of course semantically related to the nose but phonetically unrelated and non-reflexive. While /jǐ/ is written with the same character as the sixth of the ten Heavenly Stems, it is difficult to discern a clear semantic path from this to the development of a nominal 'self' meaning, so the character may be a phonetic one. In any case neither of the reflexives of Classical Chinese is similar to the various denominal Tibeto-Burman and Burmese-Lolo forms, and so there is no possibility of reconstructing a Proto Sino-Tibetan reflexive.

11. CONCLUSION

In summary, there is one likely reconstructible Burmese-Lolo reflexive form, with cognates in Burmese မိမိ /mí mí/ and widespread Loloish cognates in Northern and Central but not Southern Loloish; these all reflect a likely Burmese-Lolo etymon, Burmese *mí³mí³, Loloish *may³. This appears to be derived from the widespread Tibeto-Burman etymon *mí for 'person' which is virtually unattested in Burmese-Lolo in its nominal sense; so this semantic/syntactic shift is a characteristic of Burmese-Lolo. The likely process of this shift is discussed above.

Other reflexives are derived by parallel processes of denominal innovation from words for 'body', including the Burmese ကိုယ် /ko/ form from Sino-Tibetan *s-ku. Most others derive from the Sino-Tibetan etymon *guŋ or the mainly South-eastern Tibeto-Burman etymon *daw³.

Burmese reflexives of the form described here are mainly restricted to direct objects coreferential to a subject within the same discourse; this need not be within the same clause or sentence. Since zero anaphora for subjects is very frequent in connected discourse, the subject may be absent; such sentences are ambiguous or generic. In addition, parallel constructions using the same pronominal forms (literary မိမိ /mí mí/, spoken ကိုယ် /ko/) are used with reflexive subject meaning in some adverbials; there is also a possessive form, used to express indirect objects and other nominal reflexive arguments with a following noun head, such as ဖာသာ /pha ṣa/ 'behalf' or အတွက် /ətwe/ 'sake' for indirect objects. The possessive and subject form reflexives are also combined in frozen proverbial expressions.

While no other subgroup of Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan shows absolutely convincing evidence for the Burmese-Lolo **daw* in the meaning 'body' (despite some look-alikes in Tujia and northern Qiang), as a reflexive it does appear to extend beyond Loloish. Examples include Naxi, Dulong, Bai, Tujia and Jinghpaw; all of these are relatively close to Burmese-Lolo within Tibeto-Burman. There are also look-alike reflexives in Lepcha and Apatani. As the form is represented in so many branches of Tibeto-Burman, perhaps it should be more widely reconstructed as a reflexive even though the development from 'body' to reflexive is so natural. It is best attested in Burmese-Lolo where it may have been reinforced from the Dai form **tua*^A, and is a widespread Burmese-Lolo noun meaning 'body', a denominal grammaticalised reflexive form in some Loloish languages, and a pronoun pluraliser in Burmese.

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MEANING BASE FOR STRUCTURE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF VERBS
IN BURMESE

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1. INTRODUCTION

Okell (1969:43-44) divides verbs in Burmese into two types: functive and stative. He explains the difference between the two types on the basis of meaning; that is, those in the former denote actions or functions (e.g. သွား /θwà/ 'go', လာ /la/ 'come', နေ /ne/ 'live', ထိုင် /thain/ 'sit', စား /sà/ 'eat', သောက် /θau/ 'drink'), whilst those in the latter denote qualities or states (e.g. လေး /lè/ 'be heavy', ပေါ့ /pó/ 'be light', မြန် /myan/ 'be fast', နှေး /hnè/ 'be slow'). Although, however, the criterion for the initial classification is made on the basis of meaning, the differences between the two types, which he does not specify either as structural differences or meaning differences, are explained in a somewhat circular approach, a mixture of meaning explained in terms of structure and function, and structure and function explained in terms of meaning. This is illustrated in points (1) to (5) below.

(1) According to Okell one of the most important differences between the two types of verbs is the way they are attributed to nouns. Functive verbs simply precede the noun. For example:

Functionive V		N		
သောက်	+	ရေ	⇒	သောက်ရေ
/θau/		/ye/		/θau'-ye/
drink		water		drinking water

Stative verbs usually follow the noun. For example:

N		Stative V		
ရေ	+	အေး	⇒	ရေအေး
/ye/		/è/ =		/ye-è/
water		be cold		cold water

(p.43)

¹ For describing Burmese words, the broad transcription outlined in the introduction has been used in this paper, and is applied to the paraphrased or quoted material from Okell (1969) in (1) to (5) below.

The way verbs are used attributively with nouns is explained in terms of structure, the word order they conform to – that is, the difference in function is explained on the basis of structure.

(2) Okell sees other differences between the two types of verb as following naturally from their meaning. “For example, *functional* verbs do not *normally*² occur with the formative prefix ခပ် /kha’/ ‘rather, fairly, -ish’; and *stative* verbs do not *normally* occur with imperative markers, or with such auxiliary verbs as ရဲ /yé/ ‘dare to’, အား /à/ ‘free to’, ဖြစ် /phyi’/ ‘manage to’ etc.” (pp.43-44). Thus a structural difference is explained in terms of meaning.

(3) “...with other verbs – particularly those which are not found as attributes in compound nouns – the classification is necessarily subjective and there are therefore many *borderline cases and exceptions*. Examples of difficult cases are:

ရှိ	/í/	be, exist, there is	
ဖြစ်	/phyi’/	happen, come about, be	
ဟုတ်	/hou’/	be true, be so	
သိ	/θi/	know”	(p.44)

The “difficult borderline cases” are explained on the basis that they are not attributes in compound nouns – an explanation which is half meaning-based and half function/structure-based.

(4) “*Some* verbs are used with both *functional* and *stative* meaning; e.g.

ရပ်	/ya’/	stop, bring to a halt; stop, cease, come to an end, be still	
ရစ်	/yi’/	turn, cause to revolve; revolve	
ကပ်	/ka’/	place close to, put near; be close, near	
ရှင်း	/lín/	clear up, make clear, explain; be clear, obvious	
ဝိုင်း	/wàin/	form a circle, surround; be surrounded	
ဆိုင်း	/shàin/	postpone, delay; be postponed, delayed	
ဆက်	/she’/	join together; be joined together”	(p.44)

These, Okell says, are the verbs which can belong to two types, having two types of meaning – which is a meaning-based explanation.

(5) “In other cases, verbs that are *usually* *stative* are sometimes used transitively, like *functional* verbs; e.g.

တင်း	/tín/	be tight, tense – make tight, tense	
တိတ်	/tòu/	be quiet – make quiet, turn down volume	

² The italics in points (2) to (5) are mine.

ကျယ်	/ce/	be loud – make loud, turn up volume	
ကျဉ်း	/cin/	be narrow – make narrow	
တို	/tou/	be short – make short”	(p.44)

“These are examples of verbs which are basically stative verbs and can sometimes function as functive verbs” – here, exceptions of shift from one type to the other are explained on the basis of transitivity, a grammatical term of meaning and structure.

Okell’s grammar is universally acclaimed among Tibeto-Burmese linguists as a superb grammar. For the task of analysing Burmese grammar, especially for the use of non-native speakers, it seems impossible to take any approach other than his. The purpose of this paper is neither to contradict Okell’s remarks on verbs nor to criticise his methodological approach, but rather to examine the meaning components in Burmese verb types, which are determinants of the classification of verbs as well as their morphological (structural) make-up when they are attributed to nouns. In this paper, I will attempt first to present the view that meaning is the only criterion for explaining both the initial classification of verb types and their morphological make-up. Such an approach, I believe, will help the grammarian abstain from using exceptions such as those indicated by italic type in the paragraphs above, so that more universal grammatical statements can be made. Secondly, I will attempt to establish the view that classifying all ‘verbals’ in Burmese simply as verbs is merely a subjective treatment.³ As mentioned previously, Okell’s grammar is a *reference* grammar, and cannot be expected to contain a detailed analysis of the meanings of verbs. The ultimate objective of this paper is merely to complement Okell’s remarks on verbs.

2. MONOSYLLABIC VERBS

Although verbs in Burmese can be either monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic, monosyllabic verbs are the cores of all other verbs, because disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs (with the exception of ‘tied noun + verb’ compound verbs such as နှုတ်ဆက် /hnou’ she’/ ‘greet’) are merely combinations of monosyllabic verbs. Verbs at the monosyllabic level will therefore be dealt with first.

2.1 ANALYSIS OF MEANING

Okell (1969:43) explains that it is useful for some purposes to divide verbs into two types: those which denote *voluntary*⁴ actions or functions, and those which denote qualities or

³ The term ‘verbal’ here refers to a word class including verbs and adjectives in the tradition of transformational generative grammar.

⁴ This term is my own.

states. The second difference in meaning between the two types (which is not explicit in Okell) is the agentive nature of the former and non-agentive nature of the latter. Funtive verbs are highly agentive in the sense that they strongly assume an actual agent, a performer, whereas stative verbs are non-agentive in the sense that they do not assume an actual agent or performer, although both types need the formal subject in the sentence construction. The subjects associated with funtive verbs play an active (agentive) role, whereas the subjects associated with stative verbs play an inactive (non-agentive) role.

This agentive versus non-agentive component of meaning is not the same as the presence or absence of action. And it is important to establish this component of meaning as one independent characteristic distinguishing the two types because there are verbs which are stative – they still denote actions and the actions denoted by them can be seen. The action takes place by itself and hence the associated (nominal) subject has no role in it. For example:

ပွတ်	/pya'/	break off (on one's own accord)	The actions
ကျ	/cá/	fall down	can be
ချီ	/chí/	limp	seen, but
နွဲ့	/nwé/	be tender and gracious (as a feminine feature)	these are intransitive
ကြေ့	/cś/	be gracefully pleasant	stative verbs.

(The first two verbs are more action-orientated than the remaining three, although they are all stative verbs.) The action denoted by these verbs is understood to happen or take place with no effort on the part of the subject associated with them. The subjects associated with stative verbs are more akin to a topic in a topic-comment construction with a verb 'to be' (e.g. 'we are carpenters') and hence they can be regarded as nominal or topical non-agentive subjects. For funtive verbs, however, voluntary action is the most prominent. For example:

သွား	/θwà/	go	These are funtive
လာ	/la/	come	intransitive verbs and
နေ	/ne/	stay	their actions
ထိုင်	/thain/	sit	can be seen.

Since these verbs in the two sets of examples above are all intransitive, the transitive/intransitive criterion cannot distinguish these two sets and the agentive element is therefore required as a separate component of meaning to distinguish the two types.

The third componential difference in meaning between the two types is that there is transitivity and/or intransitivity and/or causativity in the funtive verbs whereas there is only intransitivity in the stative verbs. For example:

သွား	/θwà/	go	Intransitive and
လာ	/la/	come	functional
နေ	/ne/	live, stay	verbs
ရိုက်	/yai'/	hit	Transitive and
သတ်	/θa'/	kill	functional
ကန်	/kan/	kick	verbs
ဖြတ်	/phyá'/	cut	Causative ('h')
ခွဲ	/khwé/	break	and functional
ချေ	/che/	crush	verbs
ဟောင်း	/hàun/	be old	All intransitive.
သစ်	/θi'/	be new	Only
ကွဲ	/kwé/	broken (by one's own accord)	intransitive
ကျေ	/ce/	crumble (by one's own accord)	in stative
နပ်	/na'/	be tender from cooking	verbs

This aspect is not explicit in Okell although he mentions that all 'h' verbs (causative and transitive verbs) belong to the functional type. (Since action-orientated non-agentive intransitive verbs can be changed to (transitive) causative verbs by placing an 'h' (aspiration) after their initial consonant, causative verbs can be mentioned as 'h' verbs.)

The fourth difference in meaning (which is fairly explicit in Okell) is the tendency for application of imperative mood. The tendency to imperative mood is so strong in functional verbs and so weak in stative verbs that the former can function as imperatives when they occur on their own whereas the latter cannot. For example:

သွား	/θwà/	can mean 'go' in imperative mood on its own
နာ	/na/	does not mean 'be painful' in imperative mood on its own.

The fourth difference is in fact a spin-off from the second componential difference in meaning (in the sense that there will be no imperative mood if there is no agent), but it deserves an independent status since it will become relevant to some of the aspects to be explained later. The components of meaning which serve as bases for classifying the two verb types discussed above can be summarised in the following manner in the order of their importance:

	Type one (active verbs)	Type two (inactive verbs)
Plane of meaning	1 functionative	1 stative
	2 agentive	2 non-agentive
	3 combined or separate transitivity intransitivity causativity	3 intransitivity
	4 strong imperative mood	4 weak imperative mood

The terms under type one and type two can be regarded as end points (not necessarily opposite extremes) on the same plane of meaning. For instance 'active verb' is not necessarily the opposite of 'inactive verb'. The difference between the two is relative. Intransitivity is not necessarily the opposite of the combined status of 'transitivity', 'intransitivity' and 'causativity'. The same principle of contrast applies to the 'agentive'/'non-agentive' pair and the 'strong imperative'/'weak imperative' pair as well.

2.2 MEANING AS A BASIC CRITERION

In this section, I will argue that meaning is the only reliable criterion on the basis of which verbs in Burmese should be classified and their structural forms and functions explained. In my attempt to achieve the objective of this section, I will relate my arguments as far as possible to the discussion of Okell's classification as outlined in §1 (1)-(5) above.

2.2.1 DIFFICULT BORDERLINE CASES

The verbs in §1 (3) above which Okell describes as "difficult cases" can be resolved on the basis of their meaning. Of the four verbs given, ရှိ /*ʃi*/ and ဖြစ် /*phyi*/ are truly stative verbs. Their stative meaning can be specified in terms of the four components: they are inactive, non-agentive, intransitive and the force of imperative mood in them is nil; that is, they cannot function as imperative verbs on their own. The term 'imperative' can share both the meaning aspect and the structural aspect, but, as explained earlier, it is used here as a spin-off from the non-agentive component of meaning in which the action takes place virtually of its own accord. This kind of initial classification on the basis of meaning also agrees with the structural formula stated by Okell that stative verbs are attributed in the form of nouns derived with the prefix particle /ə/ and follow the noun. For example:

N		N (V)		
အရာ	+	အရှိ	~ ရှိ	⇒ အရာရှိ
/əya/		/əjɪ/	/ʃɪ/	/əya ʃɪ/
status			be, there is, exist	the status which exists there, official, person with a status
လက်	+	အရှိ	~ ရှိ	⇒ လက်ရှိ
/lɛ'/		/əjɪ/	/ʃɪ/	/lɛ' ʃɪ/
hand			be, there is, exist	the hand which exists there, incumbent, what is left in the hand
ရွှေ	+	အဖြစ်	~ ဖြစ်	⇒ ရွှေဖြစ်
/ʃwe/		/əphyi'/	/phyi'/	/ʃwe phyi'/
gold			happen, come about	the gold which comes about, gold made by alchemy, the art of turning things into gold

In these cases verb is subordinated or attributed to the noun. These constructions should not be confused with nominalised verbs formed by nominalisers such as ပုံ /poun/, ရိုး /yòu/, လေ့ /lé/, ထံ /thá/, စဉ် /sin/, ထုံး /thòun/ as in

ဖြစ်ပုံ	/phyi' poun/	the manner of happening, event
ဖြစ်ရိုး	/phyi' yòu/	the custom of happening
ဖြစ်လေ့	/phyi' lé/	the custom of happening

and so on where the second syllables are not ordinary nouns as are ရွှေ /ʃwe/ 'gold' and လက် /lɛ'/ 'hand', but special nominalisers.

The meaning of the verb သိ /θi/ is pervasive in the sense that it shares both the end points on each of the four planes of meaning (the same as Okell's verbs mentioned in §1 (4), such as ရစ် /yi'/ and ကပ် /ka'/). It can therefore be structured as both a functive and a stative verb when attributed to a noun. For example:

V		N		
သိ	+	စိတ်	⇒	သိစိတ်
/θi/		/sei'/		/θi sei'/
know		mind		knowing mind, conscious mind

N		N (V)			
လူ	+	အသိ	~	သိ	⇒ လူသိ
/lu/		/əθi/		/θi/	/lu θi/
person				know	person who is known

/lu θi/ in the above example has the same meaning function as လူစိမ်း /lu sèin/ 'fresh person, green person, unknown person, stranger' and လူကျက် /lu cɛ'/ 'known person'. This kind of N + V construction should not be fully equated with similar structures where the verbal noun is not attributed to the noun and the meaning is derivative. For example:

N		V
ခါတ်	+	သိ
/da'/		/θi/
true nature		know

(but not *ခါတ်အသိ /da' əθi/ 'well acquainted person')

The verb ဟုတ် /hou'/ is the most interesting of all the four because it is a perfect example of meaning as the determinant of structure. Being restricted by its own meaning, it belongs neither to the functive type nor to the stative type. It rests exactly halfway between the two end points on each of the four planes of meaning. It cannot function either as a functive verb or a stative verb to attribute nouns and it is thus a dead verb. Its meaning is more akin to the affirmative and negative interjection like 'yes' and 'no' in English (ဟုတ်တယ် /hou' tɛ/ and မဟုတ်ဖူး /məhou' phù) with very little or no grammatical connection. The morphological or structural make-up used with the verb /hou'/ is only for affirmative and negative expressions. For example:

ဟုတ်တယ်	/hou' tɛ/	yes
မဟုတ်ဖူး	/məhou' phù/	no
ဟုတ်ပြီ	/hou' pi/	(emphatic) yes, very good, fine
ဟုတ်မယ်	/hou' mɛ/	probably yes, may be true (not 'will be true')

This view is reinforced when ဟုတ် /hou'/ is compared with other verbs whose meaning is similar but not identical to /hou'/. That is, မှန် /hman/ 'be correct, true' and စစ် /si'/ 'be genuine, be pure'. Unlike ဟုတ် /hou'/. the meaning of မှန် /hman/ and စစ် /si'/ are on the type-2 ends of the four planes of meaning and thus they function freely and naturally as stative verbs. For example:

N		N (V)		
ရွှေ	+	အစစ်	~ စစ်	⇒ ရွှေစစ်
/ʃwe/		/əsi'/	/si'/	/ʃwe si'/
gold			be pure, be genuine	pure gold

လမ်း	+	မှန်	⇒ လမ်းမှန်
/làn/		/hman/	/làn hman/
road, way, street		true, correct	right way

တရား	+	မှန်	⇒ တရားမှန်
/təyà/		/hman/	/təyà hman/
doctrine		true, correct	correct doctrine, truth

Moreover, all the verb endings that can go with all stative verbs can go with မှန် /hman/ and စစ် /si'/. In short, as the meaning of ဟုတ် /hou'/ is so limited and static, resting exactly at the very centre of the four planes, it is neither a functive nor a stative verb and is structurally dead or non-productive – incapable of forming the N + N(V) construction type.

2.2.2 PERVASIVE VERBS - BOTH FUNCTIVE AND STATIVE VERBS

As with သိ /θi/ there are verbs whose meaning is pervasive along the four planes and hence their structural make-up attributing nouns can assume both functive and stative forms. Of these pervasive verbs some possess more functive and less stative meaning and vice versa, and some are truly pervasive verbs. In order to demonstrate this sub-classification, I will analyse the verbs in §1 (4), which Okell describes as verbs with both functive and stative meaning.

(a) ဆိုင်း /shàin/, ဆက် /she'/ and ရပ် /yi'/.

These verbs are more functive and less stative. They can naturally assume the V + N functive attributive structure – they are more active, more agentive, and have stronger transitivity, intransitivity and causativity force, and more imperative force. For example:

V		N		
ဆိုင်း	+	ခ	⇒	ဆိုင်းခ
/shàin/		/khá/		/shàin khá/
postpone		fee		postponement fee

ဆိုင်း	+	ကြေး	⇒	ဆိုင်းကြေး
/shàin/		/cè/		/shàin cè/
postpone		fee		postponement fee

ဆက်	+	ခ	⇒	ဆက်ခ
/she'/		/khá/		/she' khá/
join up, connect		fee		connection fee

ဆက်	+	ကြေး	⇒	ဆက်ကြေး
/she'/		/cè/		/she' cè/
join up, connect		fee		connection fee

ရစ်	+	စက်	⇒	ရစ်စက်
/yi'/		/sɛ'/		/yi' sɛ'/
rotate		machine		rotating machine

Nonetheless, these verbs cannot assume the N + N (V) stative attributive structure. If it is however possible under certain circumstances to construct N + N (V) structures with them, it is not the verb being attributed to the noun; it is the noun attributed to the verb functioning as a noun. For example:

N		N (V)		
ရက်	+	ဆိုင်း	⇒	ရက်ဆိုင်း
/ye'/		/shàin/		/ye' shàin/
day		postpone		postponement by day

နှစ်	+	ဆိုင်း	⇒	နှစ်ဆိုင်း
/hni'/		/shàin/		/hni' shàin/
year		postpone		postponement by year

မျိုး	+	ဆက်	⇒	မျိုးဆက်
/myò/		/she'/		/myò she'/
relation, ancestry		connect		connection by ancestry

ဆွေ	+	ဆက်	⇒	ဆွေဆက်
/shwe/		/she'/		/shwe she'/
friend, friendship		connect		connection by friendship

စက်	ရစ်	⇒	စက်ရစ်
/sɛ'/	/yi'/		/sɛ' yi'/
machine	rotate		rotation by machine

(b) ရပ် /ya'/, ကပ် /ka'/, ရှင်း /ʃin/ and ဝိုင်း /wàin/.

These are truly pervasive verbs and hence they can assume two kinds of construction when attributed to nouns. For example:

Functive			Stative		
V	N		N	N (V)	
ရပ်	+	ခ	⇒	ရပ်ခ	တောရပ်
/ya'/		/khá/		/ya' khá/	/tə ya'/
stop		fee		fee for stopping	jungle which is a stop, jungle which is a settlement
				jungle	be settled, stop
ရပ်	+	မိန့်	⇒	ရပ်မိန့်	
/ya'/		/mèin/		/ya' mèn/	
stop		order		stopping order, order to stop	
ကပ်	+	ပေါက်	⇒	ကပ်ပေါက်	အိတ်ကပ်
/ka'/		/pau'/		/ka' pau'/	/ei' ka'/
place near, stick, to be recalcitrant		opening, outlet		chance to be recalcitrant, reason for being recalcitrant	stuck pocket, pocket stuck on a garment
				pocket	be near, be recalcitrant
ကပ်	+	ခ	⇒	ကပ်ခ	
/ka'/		/khá/		/ka' khá/	
place near		fee		fee for placing near	
ရှင်း	+	ခ	⇒	ရှင်းခ	
/ʃin/		/khá/		/ʃin-khá/	
clear up		fee, payment		payment for clearing (something)	

ဝိုင်း	+	ခ	⇒	ဝိုင်းခ
/wàin/		/khá/		/wàin khá/
surround		payment		payment for surrounding (something)

စည်း	+	ဝိုင်း	⇒	စည်းဝိုင်း
/sì/		/wàin/		/sì wàin/
scratch -mark, line		be surrounded, form a circle		scratch-mark in a circle, line in circle

ကြိုး	+	ဝိုင်း	⇒	ကြိုးဝိုင်း
/cò/		/wàin/		/cò wàin/
rope		be surrounded		ring rope, rope in a circle

The same method of initial meaning analysis followed by structural types can be applied to those verbs which Okell treats as basically stative (and intransitive) verbs mentioned in example five. Of these verbs, တင်း /tìn/ is the only functionive verb and the remaining verbs are pervasive. တင်း /tìn/ therefore is the only verb in the example which cannot assume the N + N (V)⁵ attributive construction. They also classically represent that there is a combined meaning component of ‘transitivity, intransitivity and causativity’ in functionive verbs whilst there is only the element of intransitivity in stative verbs. For example:

Functionive		
V	N	
တင်း	+	အား
/tìn/		/à/
tighten		strength

Stative	
N	N (V)

တင်း	⇒	တင်းအား
/tìn/		/tìn à/
tighten		strength to tighten

တိုး	+	သံ	⇒	တိုးသံ
/tò/		/θan/		/tò θan/
make quiet		sound		sound that is made quiet

သံ	+	တိုး	⇒	သံတိုး
/θan/		/tò/		/θan tò/
sound		be quiet		quiet sound

ကျယ်	+	သံ	⇒	ကျယ်သံ
/cɛ/		/θan/		/cɛ θan/
make loud		sound		sound that is made loud

သံ	+	ကျယ်	⇒	သံကျယ်
/θan/		/cɛ/		/θan cɛ/
sound		be loud		loud sound

⁵ In words such as မူးတင်း /mù-tìn/ and မတ်တင်း /ma' tìn/, the element /tìn/ ‘less’ has the meaning opposite to ‘tightening’.

Functionive			Stative		
V	N		N	N (V)	
			အာ + ကျယ်	⇒	အာကျယ်
			/a/ /cɛ/		/a cɛ/
			mouth be loud		loud mouth
ကျဉ်း + အာ :	⇒	ကျဉ်းအာ :	မြစ် ကျဉ်း	⇒	မြစ်ကျဉ်း
/cìn/ /à/ /cìn à/			/myi'/ /cìn/		/myi' cìn/
make strength ability to		decrease/narrow	river be narrow		narrow river
short					
တို + ဆေး :	⇒	တိုဆေး :	ဗုံ + တို	⇒	ဗုံတို
/to/ /shè/ /to shè/			/boun/ /to/		/boun to/
make medicine medicine for making		something short ⁶	drum be short		short drum
short					
			တုံး + တို	⇒	တုံးတို
			/tòun/ /to/		/tòun-to/
			log be short		short log
			လမ်း + တို	⇒	လမ်းတို
			/làn/ /to/		/làn-to/
			road be short		short road

2.2.3 SUMMARY OF THE MEANING-BASED ARGUMENT FOR MONOSYLLABIC NOUNS

In the examples described above, I have argued for the approach of first classifying monosyllabic nouns in Burmese on the criterion of meaning, and then explaining the differences of their structural functions or structural forms on the basis of meaning. Such an approach can enable the grammarian always to resort to the lexical meaning of the verb and explain the exceptions which s/he may encounter when analysing its structural forms. Although this approach does need a crosscheck from differences in structural forms, the central theme of the approach is that meaning is the final arbiter. This meaning-based approach is applicable to disyllabic and polysyllabic (compound) verbs as well, as can be seen in the following sections.

⁶ As in /əye' θau' ta əθe' to shè bè/
 alcohol drink nominaliser life short medicine emphatic particle
 Drinking alcohol is medicine for making life short indeed.

3. THE ROLE OF MEANING IN DISYLLABIC AND POLYSYLLABIC COMPOUND VERBS

Since the V + N and N + N(V) constructions are in fact compound nouns where monosyllabic verbs are attributed to nouns, the role of verbs in these construction types is no longer relevant to disyllabic and polysyllabic compound verbs (because for compound verbs, verb structure is the target but not noun structure). Nevertheless, the concept of four planes of meaning is applicable to the classification of syntactic forms of disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs as well. In §2, the issue at point is how to explain the role of monosyllabic verb types in the construction V + N and N + N(V) noun types. But the formation of compound nouns with disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs (e.g. တည်းခိုရိပ်သာ /tè kho yei' tha/ 'rest house' and စားသောက်ဆိုင် /sà θau' shain/ 'restaurant') is very rare. The construction type that remains to be discussed for disyllabic and polysyllabic compound verbs on a meaning-based criterion therefore falls within the domain of verb construction alone.

3.1 COLLECTIVE MEANING AND SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

The formation of compound verbs and a meaning-based explanation of the way in which they assume their structural forms (i.e. the way in which they take different verb endings) is fairly straightforward. Okell (1969:25-39) has analysed the formation of compound verbs under eight main categories:⁷ ordinary compound, doubled verb, artificial compound, pre-verb compound, compound with bound member, frequentative compound, tied noun compound and multiple compound. On the basis of the collective meaning given, all these eight types of compound verbs mentioned in Okell can be classified under the 'functive versus stative' criterion. Once the verbs are compounded, their meaning becomes specific and hence it seems that there are no pervasive compound verbs.

Functive compound verbs can take the three auxiliary verbs ရဲ /yè/ 'dare to', အာ: /à/ 'be free to', and ဖြစ် /phyi/ 'manage to' as Okell (1969:43-44) remarks; whereas stative compound verbs cannot take any of these. In the sections that follow I will attempt to demonstrate that all the eight major compound verbs described in Okell can be classified either as functive or stative on the basis of their collective meaning. In these sections it will be clarified that compound verbs with functive collective meaning can take the three auxiliary verbs whereas those with stative collective meaning cannot. In other words, those compound verbs which can take the three auxiliary verbs (ရဲ ဖြစ် အာ:) are functive verbs and those which cannot are stative.

⁷ Okell also mentions a number of relevant constructions such as pre-verb members, auxiliary members, ambivalent compounds and so on, but these are not discussed here because they cannot be treated as compound verbs in a strict sense.

3.1.1 ORDINARY COMPOUND VERBS

The only stative verbs in this group are:

ကျေနပ်	/ce na'/	be satisfied
ပေါက်ကွဲ	/pau' kwè/	explode
တိုးတက်	/tò tè'/	make progress
ကြီးကျယ်	/cì cè/	be grand

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

ဆက်သွယ်	/she' θwɛ/	clean up, be clean
သန့်ရှင်း	/θán jìn/	clean up, be clean
ရောင်းဝယ်	/yàun wɛ/	trade
သွားလာ	/θwà la/	travel about

3.1.2 DOUBLED COMPOUND VERBS

The only stative verbs in this group are:

ကောင်းမွန်	/kàun mun/	be good
ကင်းရှင်း	/kìn jìn/	be free from
ဆီဆိုင်	/shi shain/	be relevant

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

ပြောဆို	/pyò sho/	speak
ကြည့်ရှု	/cí jù/	look
ဝယ်ယူ	/wɛ yu/	buy
ချက်ပြုတ်	/che' pyou'/	cook
ရေးသား	/yè θà/	write

3.1.3 ARTIFICIAL COMPOUND VERBS

Functive verbs in this group are:

ခေါ်ဝေါ်	/kho wə/	call, name
ညှာတာ	/hña ta/	be considerate
ကပ်သတ်	/ka' θa'/	be recalcitrant
စာနာ	/sa na/	be compassionate (by comparing oneself with others)
တွေးတာ	/twè tò/	think
လိုလား	/lo là/	favour, be favourably disposed to

ရှိုင်းစိုင်း	/yàin sàin/	be uncouth
ညီညာ	/ñi ña/	be even, be united

The rest of the group are stative verbs. For example:

သွက်လက်	/θwε' lε'/	be fluent, alert, active
မြိုင်ဆိုင်	/myain shain/	be harmonious (as a crowd)
မြန်ဆန်	/myan shan/	be quick

3.1.4 PRE-VERB COMPOUNDS

All the pre-verb compounds given in Okell are functive verbs. For example:

ပြောင်ပြော	/pyaun pyðə/	say in jest
လိမ်ပြော	/lein pyðə/	lie
ခုစား	/khù sà/	pluck and eat

3.1.5 COMPOUNDS WITH BOUND MEMBERS

The only stative verbs in this group are:

ပျက်စီး	/pyε' sì/	be destroyed
ဆိုးဝါး	/shò wà/	be bad
လွယ်ကူ	/lwε ku/	be easy

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

တိုင်ပင်	/tain pin/	consult
စိုးရိမ်	/sò yein/	worry
ရှိသေ	/yo θe/	be respectful
ခံစား	/khan sà/	enjoy, suffer

3.1.6 FREQUENTATIVE COMPOUND VERBS

The only stative verb in this group is:

ရှော့ရှော့သွား	/yó yó θwà/	become slacker and slacker
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The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

ထပ်ထပ်တီး	/tha' tha' tì/	play again and again
ကြိုကြိုပို့	/co co pò/	keep sending in advance
ဝင်ဝင်ပြော	/win win pyðə/	keep coming in and speaking
လာလာမေး	/la la mè/	keep coming and asking

3.1.7 COMPOUND VERBS WITH TIED NOUNS

The only stative verbs in this group are:

စိတ်တို	/sei' to/	to be short tempered
အုရိုင်	/u ɰwin/	be joyful
အားနာ	/à na/	be embarrassed
သဘောကောင်း	/θə bə kàun/	be good-natured

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

နှုတ်ဆက်	/hnou' she'/	greet
နားထောင်	/nà thaun/	listen
လေပစ်	/le pyi'/	chat

3.1.8 MULTIPLE COMPOUND VERBS

The only stative verbs in this group are:

လှပတင့်တယ်	/hlá pá tìn tɛ/	look lovely
စွတ်စိုထိုင်းမှိုင်း	/su' so thàin hmàin/	be damp and dull

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

ရှိသလေးစား	/yo θe lè sà/	respect and revere
ဆင်ခြင်စဉ်းစား	/shin chin sìn sà/	think seriously
သယ်ယူပို့ဆောင်	/θɛ yu pó shaun/	transport

4. ARE STATIVE VERBS SOMETIMES ADJECTIVES?

Mainly because all stative verbs in Burmese can take all verb endings except ပါ /pa/, the politeness marker, Burmese has been treated as a language with no adjectives (Okell 1969, Cornyn and Roop 1968). I have argued in the previous sections that structure (syntactic features) alone is not a sound basis for classifying words. Even if one can accept stative verbs under the general classification of 'verb', the fact that stative verbs can function as adjectives has to be recognised. In highly inflectional languages, such as Sanskrit and Pali, and partially inflectional languages such as English, the way in which a word undergoes changes in structural or grammatical function and meaning is very obvious because these changes usually take place with the help of suffixes or internal changes. For example:

grind (verb),
grinder (-er noun),
grinding (present participle which can function as an adjective)
ground (past participle).

In most tonal languages which are not inflectional, such as Burmese where the inflectional suffixes serving as grammatical mechanisms (especially for participles) are almost non-existent, similar grammatical functions are accomplished firstly by the original lexical meaning and secondly by the position in the morphological make-up. The adjectival nature and functions of stative verbs in Burmese are therefore subtle, but their existence is fairly obvious. In the sections that follow, I will attempt to establish the following views:

- (1) Although one type of words can be assigned to one major class in Burmese, their grammatical function can shift depending on the original lexical meaning and the position in the morphological make-up;
- (2) The words which are basically classified as 'verbs (stative)' in Burmese are endowed with a number of features which are regarded as adjectival features in other languages.

4.1 CHANGE OF GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION DUE TO MEANING AND POSITION IN THE MORPHOLOGICAL MAKE-UP

It has been proposed that functive verbs can be attributed to a noun in the V + N compound noun structure as in /θau' ye/ 'drinking water' (in §1). It may be within reason to treat these as functive verbs and the label for them in this environment may simply be a matter of terminology. In the formation of nouns in the N + V (functive) structure, however (which (Okell 1969: 90-92) places under "fixed headless NV attributes"), they do not appear to function as verbs. It is more plausible to treat the functive verb in this construction as a head noun, though they are verbs in their original classification. In these N + V constructions such as set out below, it is not the verb which is attributed to the noun, but the noun which is attributed to the verb functioning as a head noun:

ပဲကိုင်	/pé kain/	helmsman
မြို့စား	/myó sà/	town administrator
ရှေ့နေ	/lé ne/	lawyer
ထမင်းချက်	/thə mìn che'/	cook
ပတ်မတီး	/pa' mətì/	drummer
စာပို့	/sa pó/	letter sender, postman

For instance in ရှေ့နေ /lé ne/ 'lawyer', it is not နေ /ne/ 'stay' qualifying or attributing ရှေ့ /lé/ 'in front', but the reverse ('stayer in front, legal representative, advocate, lawyer'), and the same applies to the other examples. The functive verbs in this construction are the counterparts of English *-er* nouns such as *grinder* from *grind*, *taker* from *take* and so on. These examples demonstrate the fact that words in Burmese can change their classification

and grammatical function depending on their original lexical meaning and the environment in which they occur.

4.2 ADJECTIVAL QUALITIES IN STATIVE VERBS

There are a number of qualities in stative verbs, which cannot be treated as those of any other word class, but only as those of adjectives. Firstly, in the same way as adverbs can be formed from adjectives in English with the use of the suffix *-ly*, adverbs in Burmese can be formed from stative verbs (not from function verbs) by reduplication. For example:

မြန်မြန်လာ	/myan myan la/	come quickly
နှေးနှေးသွား	/hnè hnè θwà/	go slowly
ရိုးရိုးလုပ်	/yò yò lou'/	behave honestly
ကုပ်ကုပ်နေ	/kou' kou' ne/	live humbly

Secondly, in the same way as English adjectives can inflect in degrees such as positive, comparative and superlative, these reduplicated stative verbs in Burmese can be ranked as adjectives in degree by more than the three levels that exist in English. For example:

Word	Degree	Structure		
ပူ /pu/	1	ရေပူ	/ye pu/	hot water
	2	ရေပူပူ	/ye pu pu/	somewhat hot water
	3	ရေနပ်ပူပူ	/ye kha' pu pu/	considerably hot water
	4	ရေသိပ်ပူပူ	/ye thei' pu pu/	very hot water

The construction type with stative verb, which Okell (1969: 79) describes as “derived *āV* noun attributes” such as မြို့ဟောင်း /myó hàun/ ‘old city’, နွားဖြူ /nwà phyu/ ‘white bull’, and ဘုရားပျက် /phəyà pye/ ‘ruined pagoda’, can be arranged in this order of adjectives in degree. For example:

Word	Degree	Structure		
ဟောင်း /hàun/	1	မြို့ဟောင်း	/myó hàun/	old city
	2	မြို့ဟောင်းဟောင်း	/myó hàun hàun/	somewhat old city
	3	မြို့ခပ်ဟောင်းဟောင်း	/myó kha' hàun hàun/	considerably old city
	4	မြို့သိပ်ဟောင်းဟောင်း	/myó θei' hàun hàun/	very old city

And finally, it is obvious that the greater the number of syllables in multiple compound nouns with stative verbs, the stronger the attributive/adjectival element of the stative verbs.

For example:

ဘုရားပျက်နစ်ဆူ

/phəyà pye' hnəshu/

two ruined pagodas (the meaning of /pye' / 'ruined' becomes more adjectival.)

ဆေးပြင်းလိပ်တစ်ထုပ်

/hsè pyìn lei' tətəu'/

a packet of strong cigars (the meaning of /pyìn/ 'strong' becomes more adjectival.)

စာတော်ဘတ်ကြီး

/sa to pha' cì/

big royal reader (the meaning of /cì/ 'big' becomes more adjectival.)

စာအုပ်ထူကြီး

/sa ou' thu cì/

big thick book (the meaning of /thu/ 'thick' and /cì/ 'big' become more adjectival and so on.)

5. CONCLUSION

In order to analyse the structure of verbs in Burmese for practical purposes of teaching the language to non-native speakers, there seems to be no better approach than that followed in Okell (1969). This approach should not however be stretched to the extent of treating Burmese as a language with no adjectives and adjectival structures.

Dixon (1991) has demonstrated that the grammar of English can be explained satisfactorily and systematically on the basis of meaning alone, without the need to resort to the model of generative grammar. An analysis of the verb types in Burmese has shown that such a meaning-based approach is the only satisfactory method one can rely upon for explaining finer details of verbs in Burmese.

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THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN¹

NAW SAY BAY

1. INTRODUCTION

Moken is a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken by Sea Gypsies living in the western coastal waters of Burma and Thailand. The people refer to themselves as Moken or Mawken. They are called Selung or Salon by the Malays and Burmese. For further discussion of names see Lewis (1960:1) and Hogan (1972:206-207).

The dialects of Moken spoken off the west coast of Thailand have been studied by Sorat (1981) and Sudarat (1984). They have identified two major dialects in Thai waters which they refer to as the Moken and Moklen dialects. They also agree that Urak Lawoi' is not to be considered a dialect of Moken, but is a separate language more distantly related.

Sorat (1981) makes a lexicostatistical comparison of word lists taken from some eleven locations. He concludes that two languages are involved, Moken in the north and Urak Lawoi' in the south, with Moken comprising two dialects: Moken dialect (Victoria Point, Ranong and Rawai) and Moklen dialect (Bangsak, Thai Muang and Tha Chatchai).

Sudarat (1984) makes a comparative study of Moken, Moklen, and Urak Lawoi', all as spoken in Rawai Village, Phuket. She concludes (p.180) that Moklen and Moken reconstruct as Proto Moken-Moklen and that Urak Lawoi' is more distantly related.

The Moken dialect situation in the Burmese islands has not yet been the subject of systematic investigation, though dialect names and locations have been suggested by a number of scholars. Walter Grainge White (1922) recognised four dialects of Moken: the Dung dialect spoken in the Mergui area; the Jaet dialect spoken in the area of Lampi Island² and Bokpyin; the L'be dialect spoken around Victoria Point and Saint Matthew Island; and the Lawta dialect spoken around Lanta Island³ and Phuket in Thailand. (The Lawta dialect he refers to would appear to be not a dialect of Moken but is rather the Urak Lawoi' language.)

Hogan (1983:1-2) refers to five dialects: the L'be dialect which he says is spoken in an area extending from Tavoy Island southward to the islands off Bokpyin; the Dung dialect which is spoken in the islands off the town of Mergui; the Jade dialect which is spoken in the southern islands as far as Victoria Point and on into Thai waters further south; the Moklen dialect which is spoken on the islands at the mouth of the Takuapa River and south along the

¹ I wish to acknowledge with thanks the help of many people in the analysis and writing of this paper (which sometimes bordered on co-authorship) and especially of Austin Hale, David Hogan, and David Thomas, as well as Hermann Janzen, Kent Gordon, and Dorothy Thomas. My main informant and colleague was Pawleik of Dung Island.

² Lampi Island, also known as Sullivan Island, is called L'be Island in Moken.

³ Lawta is the Moken name for Lanta Island south of Phuket, which is the traditional point of origin of the Urak Lawoi' people of that area.

coast as far as the northern end of Phuket Island; and the Phuket dialect, spoken in Rawai Village in Phuket Island and on Peepee Island in Krabi Province.

Older Moken people living on Tavoy Island have told me that their ancestors came from the south, from the Jaet area, looking for a better place to make their livelihood. And the similarities between Tavoy and Jaet vowel glides would seem to confirm their account. Tavoy intonation, however, is different from Jaet intonation. Further clues to points of origin may be obtained from a comparison of dialect names with Moken placenames. It is quite possible that these name relationships antedate White's report by a considerable time span. The Moken names for the dialects spoken in Burmese waters are Dung, Jaet, and L'be. Dung is also the Moken name for two islands, Elphinstone and Ross.⁴ These islands still constitute the centre of the Dung dialect area, and in this case it seems fairly clear that the dialect name has a geographic origin. If we assume that Jaet and L'be originally also had geographic reference in Moken, we have not far to look. Sa-ii Island is referred to in Moken as Jaet, and Lampi Island is referred to as L'be.

The earliest Moken primer using Pwo Karen script (A primer of the Selong language, 1846) contains a note by the Reverend D.L. Brayton written at Mergui in October 1844 drawing attention to the variety of pronunciations heard.

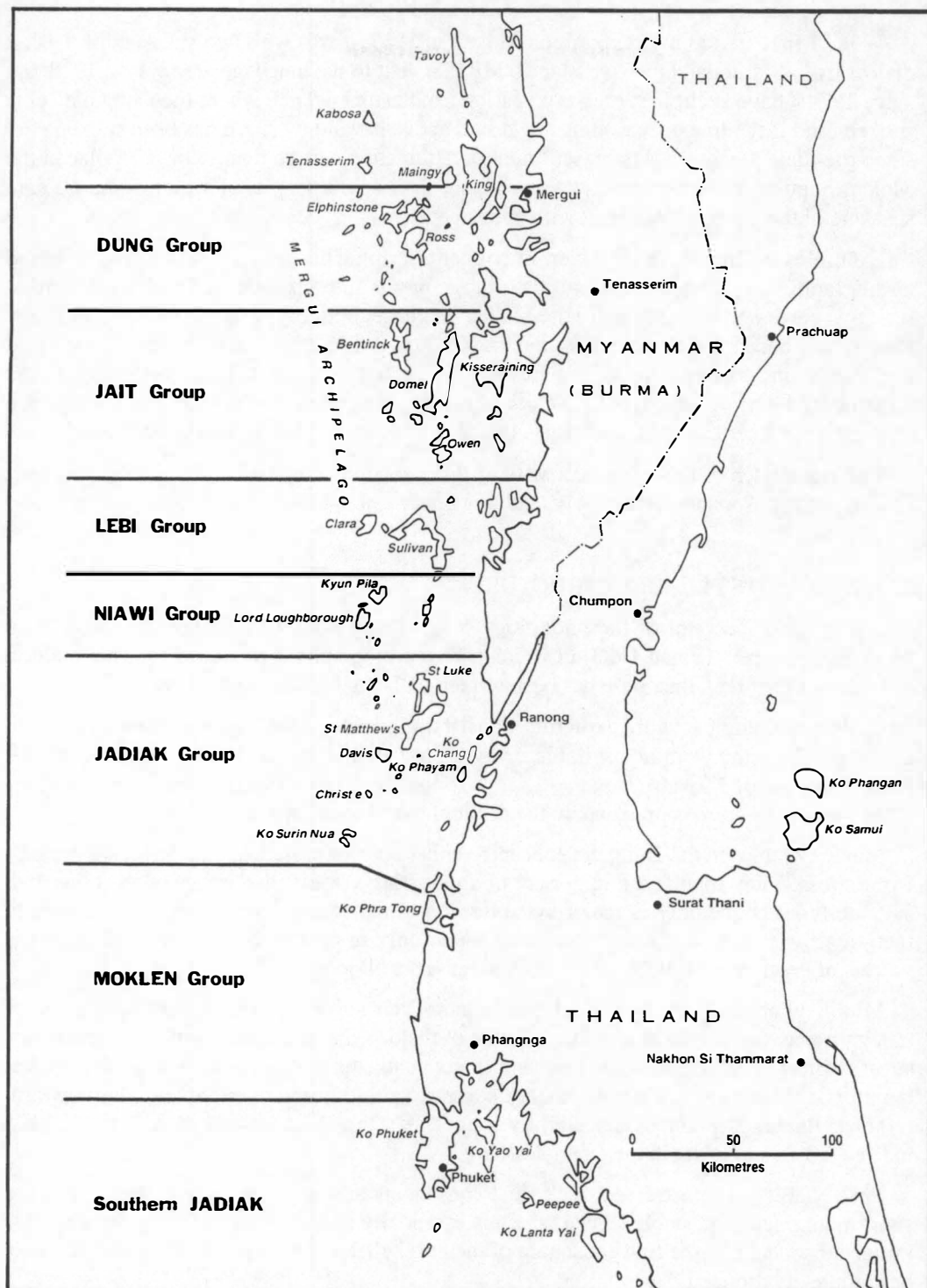
More recently the French anthropologist Ivanoff has spent some time with the Moken people living on Surin and Phra Thong Islands near Takuapa, where he has had contact also with Moken people who have come down from Burma. He has published a map showing five subgroups of the Moken people: Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi and Chadiak (Hogan's 'Jade' group). He does not claim that these subgroups represent different dialects, but rather that they show groupings based on the island areas which are their normal habitat (Ivanoff 1985:173-176).

Hogan has now checked these subgroups with Moken informants in Rawai village on Phuket Island. They all say that they come from the Jadiak group which is based on Saint Matthew's Island off Victoria Point. Therefore Hogan no longer calls this the Jade dialect, but the Jadiak (rather than Chadiak). His previous listing of a Phuket dialect seems unnecessary as the older people there all speak Jadiak while the younger people speak a version adulterated by a mixture of Urak Lawoi' and Thai. The informants say that Niawi differs only slightly from Jadiak, and Lebi is slightly different again. They know little about the two northern dialects of Dung and Jait.

On the basis of this information it is considered that we can now give a tentative listing of six dialects of Moken, including Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi, Jadiak and Moklen (spoken only in Thailand). The map is based on Ivanoff's map, modified to show more details of the groups in Thailand.

It is hoped that further research can establish more precisely whether Lebi, Niawi and Jadiak need to be differentiated as three separate dialects. Similarly the precise relationship between Dung and Jait needs more careful study. A preliminary check of Dung and Jait via a 300-word list shows more than 90 per cent cognates and the phonological shifts appear to be regular, involving mainly the front and back vowels.

⁴ In earlier Moken usage, Dung was the name used specifically to refer to Elphinstone Island, and Ross Island was referred to as Moun. In current Burmese administration usage Elphinstone Island is called Done Paleh Awe and Ross Island is called Done Kama Chaung.



MAP: MOKEN DIALECTS

When I first started my research on Moken in 1967, it was with two speakers of the Jait dialect from Mali Island (Tavoy Island). My first visit to the language area was in 1973 and since 1974 I have spent part of every year on Elphinstone Island, where the Dung dialect is spoken (and if the line of reasoning suggested above is valid, where it has been spoken ever since the dialect acquired its present name). A tentative census report⁵ in 1972 placed the Moken population in Burmese waters at more than 4,000 people, of which some 500 are speakers of the Dung dialect dealt with in this paper.

Examples in this paper are given in phonetic script. There is a current Burmese-based Orthography. (A paper discussing this orthography is in preparation.) There have been at least two earlier orthographies for the Moken language, both based on the Dung dialect: one Pwo Karen-based and the other Roman-based (Lewis 1960:4ff.); neither one is in current use. According to Lewis (p.4), the Reverend E.A. Stevens was the one who devised the Karen-based script, which W.G. White (1911:19) describes as consisting of Pwo Karen characters with certain additional signs. Lewis reproduces Stevens' remarks on the script.

The remainder of this paper consists of three sections on word and syllable structure, vowels, and consonants respectively, and of a brief sample text.

2. WORD AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A very brief account of the phonology of the Dung dialect of Moken appeared in an unpublished paper (Hogan 1983) in which a Thai orthography is proposed for Thai dialects of Moken. Other than this, little has been written on Dung Moken phonology.

Dung phonological word structure consists minimally of a major syllable, preceded optionally by either a minor syllable or by a pre-syllable, as has been noted also for the Phuket dialect of Moken (Hogan 1983:12 following Veena 1980). This typically Mon-Khmer word structure is presumably the result of old Mon influence.

Major syllables in the Dung dialect can be either open or closed, and they receive primary word stress. They manifest a larger set of contrasting vowels than either of the other two syllable types, since only in major syllables do vowels contrast for length or tenseness. In fact, contrasts of vowel length are to be found only in closed major syllables, since the vowels of open major syllables both lax and tense are all long.

Minor syllables do not have final consonants. Their vowels are phonetically intermediate in length between the short and long vowels of major syllables, and they receive secondary stress. Minor syllables manifest a system of six contrasting vowel qualities. Neither vowel length nor the tense-lax distinctions are contrastive within minor syllables. The vowel in minor syllables is phonetically slightly longer than the short vowels of major syllables, indicated by a single dot in the examples.

Pre-syllables are unstressed, lack final consonants and manifest only a single vowel, a short, phonetically unstable schwa which is essentially just an open transition between the initial consonant and the first consonant of the next syllable. In faster speech this schwa may be completely dropped.

⁵ The census report was a personal communication from U Than Tun, who accompanied Major Aye, the officer in charge of census taking in the area from Tavoy Island to Victoria Point in 1972.

Primary word stress thus falls on major syllables, secondary word stress on minor syllables, and pre-syllables are unstressed.

In the written form of closed syllables, stress is predictable by virtue of the fact that only major syllables can be closed, and syllable-final consonants are marked in Burmese writing. With open major syllables, however, it is necessary to mark word boundaries with a space if stress patterns are to be correctly predicted apart from the recognition of lexical items. Minor syllables are distinguished from pre-syllables on the basis of their vowels.

In the following examples secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent (˘), and primary stress by an apostrophe ('), preceding the syllable. Pitch contours are represented by lines above the phonetic transcription. It will be seen that pitch contours are predictable for words elicited in isolation, so they have been written only on the first few sets of examples. The primary stress has high pitch, which then falls unless the syllable ends in /h/, in which case the high pitch remains level or slightly rising and there is a somewhat breathy voice quality. (It would be possible to interpret [h] as a suprasegmental prosody of breathiness, but this would have only restricted occurrence.) Some fairly clear Thai loans are marked (T). Interestingly, a large portion of the monosyllabic words appear to be loans from Thai.

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a minor syllable.

[˘kaˈtœ]	/katœ/	spirit
[˘daˈta:]	/data/	upon
[˘daˈtah]	/datah/	long
[˘kəˈlæt]	/kələt/	bark of a tree
[˘buˈbuŋ]	/bubuŋ/	ridge of a roof

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a pre-syllable. Pre-syllables contrast with minor syllables in that pre-syllables are unstressed and they manifest only the indeterminate short vowel, schwa.

[kəˈmanː]	/kəman/	night
[pəˈdʒɛː]	/pəjɛ/	tide in
[məˈlanː]	/məlan/	to swallow
[bəˈdʒɛː]	/bəje/	to stand in a group

The following are examples of words consisting of a major syllable not preceded by either a minor syllable or a pre-syllable.

[ˈkaːnː]	/kaːn/	work (T)
[ˈbaː]	/ba/	insane (T)

['bu:]	/bu/	banana shoot
['me·a·]	/maʔ/	horse (T)
['ne·a·]	/naʔ/	fields (T)

3. CONSONANTS

The set of contrastive consonants differs according to position within the syllable. There are two positions, syllable-initial and syllable-final, and the set of consonants occurring in the former is considerably larger than in the latter. As can be seen in Figure 1, syllable-final position is characterised by a loss of contrast for voicing and aspiration, as well as by a loss of the palatal stop/affricate series and /l/.

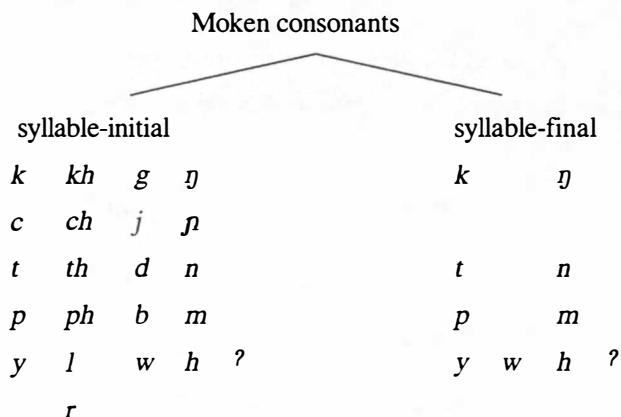


FIGURE 1: THE CONSONANT SYSTEMS OPERATIVE IN SYLLABLE-INITIAL AND SYLLABLE-FINAL POSITION.

(/r/ and /d/ are interchangeable in many words.)

The Southern Jadiak dialect (Hogan 1983:11, following Veena 1980:43) has a syllable-initial system which differs from that given for Dung in Figure 1 only in that Southern Jadiak has /s/, which Dung lacks, and the /r/ of Dung is not mentioned. It remains to be seen whether any of the Moken dialects spoken in Burmese waters share this /s/ with Southern Jadiak. The syllable-final systems of the two dialects are identical.

In syllable-initial position the following twenty-two different consonants can occur.

/k/	[ˈkaʔae:]	/kaʔe:/	tree
	[ˈte·kan·]	/tekan/	mats
/kh/	[ˈkha·dʒi:əŋ]	/khajeaŋ/	roof
	[ˈkhə'lo:ŋ]	/khəlo:ŋ/	sea
/g/	[ˈgi·len·]	/gilen/	to roll up
	[ˈgi·lao:ŋ]	/gilo:ŋ/	valley
/ŋ/	[ˈŋə'poe·]	/ŋəpoy/	to jump into
	[ˈməŋap·]	/məŋap/	to catch

/c/	[ˈtɕiːˈtɕom˦] [ˈtɕəˈŋaeːm˦]	/cicom/ /cəŋeːm/	bird cold
/ch/	[ˈpɛːˈtɕhaŋ˦] [ˈmətɕuː˦]	/pɛchaŋ/ /məchuː/	banana to raise the hands
/j/	[ˈdʒaːˈbuː˦] [ˈpəˈdʒeː˦]	/jabu/ /pəje/	bumble bee for the tide to come in
/ɲ/	[ˈməɲam˦] [ˈməɲiːəŋ˦]	/məɲam/ /məɲəŋ/	to eat to walk
/t/	[ˈkɛːˈtam˦] [ˈtəˈlauːŋ˦]	/ketam/ /təluːŋ/	black eggplant
/th/	[ˈtheːn˦] [mətʰuːn˦]	/theːn/ /mətʰuːn/	chair to carry on the head
/d/	[ˈdaːˈtaː˦] [ˈduːˈdun˦]	/data/ /dudun/	upon rice water
/n/	[nəˈmāuː˦] [ˈpɛːnaŋ˦]	/nəˈmuːʔ/ /pɛnaŋ/	cattle areca nut
/p/	[məˈpeŋ˦] [pəˈloːəŋ˦]	/məpeŋ/ /pəloaŋ/	to rest tender (of fruit)
/ph/	[ˈphaːˈloː˦] [ˈphuːŋɛːəʔ˦]	/phalo/ /phuŋeaʔ/	to tease country
/b/	[ˈbaːˈtaŋ˦] [ˈboː˦]	/batəŋ/ /boː/	at the foot, beginning boy
/m/	[ˈməpʰeːaː˦] [ˈtɕəˈmin˦]	/məphaːʔ/ /cəˈmin/	to elope glass
/y/	[ˈkaːˈyap˦] [ˈʔəˈyaːt˦]	/kayap/ /ʔəyaːt/	a kind of sickness trust
/l/	[ˈtəˈləŋ˦] [ˈləˈmauŋ˦]	/tələŋ/ /ləmuːŋ/	to help howling of a dog
/w/	[ˈwɪŋ˦] [ˈtɕəˈwat˦]	/wiŋ/ /cəwat/	circle clothes
/h/	[ˈhāː˦]	/hāː/	negative particle
/ʔ/	[ˈʔuːˈleːt˦] [ˈʔəˈtak˦]	/ʔuleːt/ /ʔtak/	cicada head
/ɾ/	[ˈpəˈraŋ˦] [ˈʔəˈraː˦]	/pəraŋ/ /ʔəra/	knife duck

In syllable-final position the following ten consonants can occur.

/k/	[ˈdɔk˦] [ˈmaːˈnɔk˦]	/dɔk/ /manɔk/	plentiful chicken
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/ŋ/	['wŋŋ] ['pa:ŋŋ]	/wiŋ/ /pa:ŋ/	circle pancreas
/t/	[ˈkɔːlətŋ] [ˈtɕeiˈthe:tŋ]	/kɔlət/ /ciːthe:t/	bark pumpkin
/n/	['ka:nŋ] [ˈduː'dunŋ]	/ka:n/ /dudun/	work (T) rice water
/p/	[ˈkaː'yapŋ] [ˈmə'nəpŋ]	/kayap/ /mənap/	a kind of sickness dive
/m/	[ˈdaː'dumŋ] [ˈlaː'dzəmŋ]	/dadum/ /ləjam/	some sharp
/w/	[ˈkəˈba:ɔŋ] [ˈmɛː'ləɔŋ]	/kəba:w/ /mɛləw/	buffalo giants
/y/	[ˈʔə'pɔɛŋ] [ˈʔɛː'ləɛŋ]	/ʔəpɔy/ /ʔɛləy/	fire left
/ʌ/	[ˈpəˈnauʔŋ] [ˈtɕəː'tɕəʔŋ]	/pənuːʔ/ /cɔcɔːʔ/	full grandchild
/h/	[ˈdaː'tahŋ] [ˈbəkɔhŋ]	/datah/ /bəkɔh/	long to emerge from water

4. VOWELS

As may be seen in Figure 2, there is basically a seven-vowel system, plus length and tenseness contrasts and two centring glides.

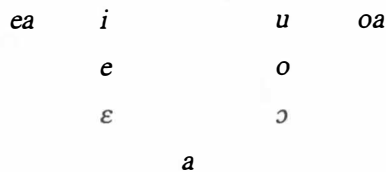


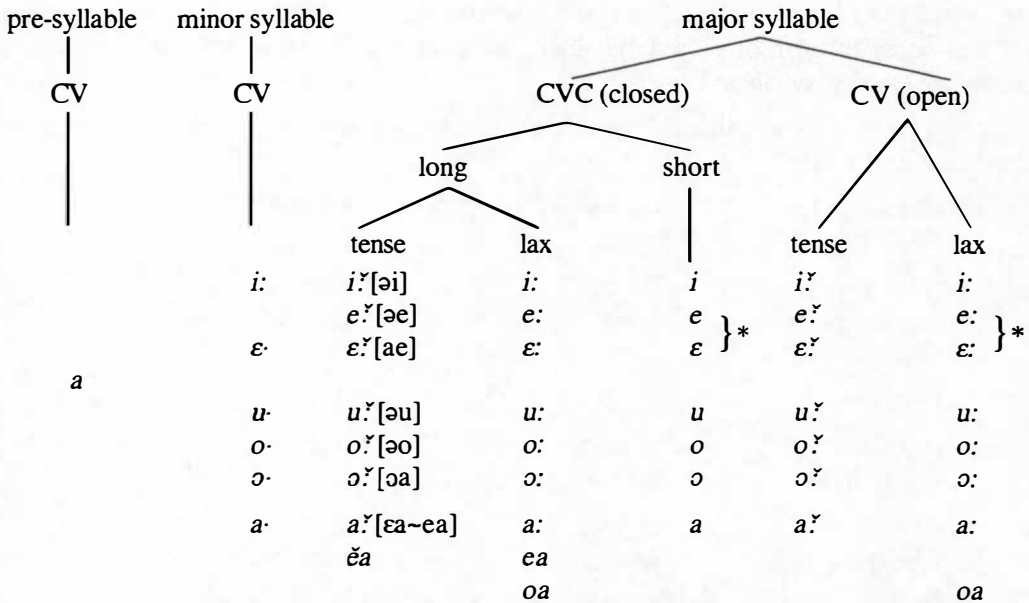
FIGURE 2: MOKEN VOWELS

In pre-syllables only a neutral central vowel can occur (see previous examples).

In minor syllables there are six vowels that can occur.

/i/	[tɕiːˈtɕom˦]	/cicom/	bird
	[ˈbiːˈtoak˦]	/bitoak/	star
/e/	[ˈkɛːˈtam˦]	/ketam/	black
	[ˈpɛːˈtɕhaŋ˦]	/pechan/	banana

/u/	$\bar{\text{bu}} \cdot \text{'loi:}$	/buloy/	feather, hair
	$\bar{\text{bu}} \cdot \text{'la:n}$	/bula:n/	moon
	$\bar{\text{ku}} \cdot \text{'lui:}$	/kuluy/	earthen jar
/ɔ/	$\bar{\text{kɔ}} \cdot \text{'lon}$	/kɔlon/	slave
	$\bar{\text{tɔ}} \cdot \text{'lon}$	/tɔlon/	to help
/a/	$\bar{\text{kha}} \cdot \text{'dzi:əŋ}$	/khajeaŋ/	roof
	$\bar{\text{ba}} \cdot \text{'taŋ}$	/batan/	at the foot, beginning
/o/	$\bar{\text{lo}} \cdot \text{'la:} \cdot \bar{\text{lo}} \cdot \text{'la:}$	/lola lola/	passing to and fro



In closed major syllables the following seven different long tense vowels and one tense centring diphthong can occur.

/i:/	[tɕai:n̩] [tɕa-ʔai:n̩] [mɛ-ʔai:n̩]	/ciʔn/ /caʔiʔn/ /metiʔn/	Chinese pungent thumb
/e:/	[kɛ-ʔtɛ:n̩]	/kɛtɛʔn/	to deceive
/ɛ:/	[ʔɔ-ʔkaɛn̩] [jə-ʔlaɛ:n̩]	/ʔɔkɛʔn/ /jələɛʔn/	sea water pearl
/u:/	[ka-ʔau:n̩] [lɔ-ʔbəu:ŋ]	/kaʔuʔn/ /lɔbuʔŋ/	bamboo spirit poles
/o:/	[kə-ʔbaɔ:k̩] [gi-ʔlaɔ:ŋ]	/kəbɔʔk/ /giloʔŋ/	lazy valley
/ɔ:/	[mə-ʔlɔ:at̩] [ka-ʔtɔ:at̩]	/məlɔʔt/ /katɔʔt/	to set free a kind of tree
/əa/	[məŋ-ʔiəŋ]	/məŋəŋ/	to walk
/a:/	[cheam̩]	/chaʔm/	bruise

The phoneme /ea/ may vary phonetically between [i:ə], [e:ə], and [ɛ:ə], and /oa/ may vary phonetically between [u:ə], [o:ə] and [ɔ:ə]. /ea/ also occurs in lax closed syllables, and lax /oa/ can occur in open or closed syllables (see Figure 3). In tense /ea/ the tenseness is focused on the first syllable.

In closed major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and two centring diphthongs can occur.

/i:/	[khə-ʔli:n̩] [bi-ʔbi:n̩]	/khəli:n/ /bibin/	time after time lips
/e:/	[nə-ʔle:ŋ] [tɕi-ʔthe:t̩] [the:n̩]	/nələ:ŋ/ /tɕithe:t/ /the:n/	melodious pumpkin chair
/ɛ:/	[ʔu-ʔlɛ:t̩]	/ʔulɛ:t/	cicada
/u:/	[mə-ʔthu:n̩] [mə-ʔlu:m̩]	/məthu:n/ /məlu:m/	to carry on the head to comfort (a child)
/o:/	[khə-ʔlɔ:ŋ] [lu-ʔtho:ŋ]	/khələ:ŋ/ /lutho:ŋ/	sea a small basket
/ɔ:/	[bə-ʔtɕhɔ:ŋ] [ʔu-ʔtɕhɔ:ŋ]	/bachɔ:ŋ/ /ʔuchɔ:n/	head of a stairway a green snail shell
/a:/	[kə-ʔla:ŋ] [ka-ʔba:ŋ]	/kəla:ŋ/ /kaba:ŋ/	eagle boat
/ea/	[mə-ʔkhe:əŋ] [mə-ʔŋe:əŋ]	/məkhean/ /məŋeəŋ/	to write (T) to sew
/oa/	[mə-ʔlɔ:əŋ] [phə-ʔlɔ:əŋ]	/məloəŋ/ /phəloəŋ/	to tempt tender (of fruit)

In closed major syllables seven short vowels can occur, as listed below. The distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ is phonetically very narrow and difficult to hear.

/i/	[mə'phɪkɿ]	/məphik/	to turn over
	[mə'nɪkɿ]	/mənɪk/	to think
/e/	[gi'lenɿ]	/gilen/	to roll up
	[mə'peŋɿ]	/məpeŋ/	to rest
/ɛ/	[mɛ'lekɿ]	/mɛlek/	pepper
	[ʔɛ'bekɿ]	/ʔəbek/	tadpoles
/u/	[bu'buŋɿ]	/bubuŋ/	top of the roof
	[mətɕhunɿ]	/məɕhun/	fighting cocks
/o/	[bu'lokɿ]	/bulok/	putrid foul odour
	[la'tonɿ]	/laton/	a giant turtle
/ɔ/	[kɔ'lonɿ]	/kɔlon/	slave
	[ma'nɔkɿ]	/manɔk/	chicken
/a/	[te'kanɿ]	/tekan/	mats
	[ʔɔ'takɿ]	/ʔɔtak/	head

There are also a few cases, mainly involving loan words from Thai, which may possibly point to a marginal tense/lax contrast in short /a/: [lak] 'post' (T), [lɤak] 'love' (T), [məlan] 'to swallow', [məɤlan] 'to beat', [mənap] 'to submerge', [məɤnap] 'to count' (T).

In open major syllables seven long tense vowels can occur. These vowels have a tense voice quality and are on-gliding diphthongs, a system reminiscent of Mon-Khmer register complexes which may be the result of Mon-Khmer (Old Mon?) influence. Instrumental study of this 'tenseness' has not been possible. This tenseness and on-gliding has been observed in both open and closed syllables.

These tense diphthongs are either on-glides such as [ɤi] and [aũ] with the tenseness focused on the second segment, or they have equal tenseness on both segments, as in [nɛ̃.ɔ̃] /na/ 'field' (note the tenseness on this Thai loan, found also on some other Thai loans).

/iː/	[la'tɕhəi:]	/lachiː/	beautiful
	[phɔ'ɤi:]	/phɔriː/	rich
/eː/	[la'tɕhae:]	/lacheː/	book
	[kə'ləe:]	/kəleː/	friends
/ɛː/	[mae:]	/meː/	girl
	[kə'ləe:]	/kəleː/	just now, only now
/uː/	[kau:]	/kuː/	a kind of snail
	[nə'māũ:]	/nəmuː/	cattle
/oː/	[bao:]	/boː/	well (for water) (T)
	[pə'kao:]	/pəkoː/	forearm
/ɔː/	[lo-a:]	/lɔː/	sister
	[tɕhə'mo-a:]	/chəmoː/	early morning
	[mə'kho-a:]	/məkhoː/	to roast

/a:/	[mə'phe:a:]	/məphaː/	to elope
	[ba'be:a:]	/babaː/	half-breed

In open major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and one centring diphthong can occur.

/i/	[ˈtʃu:'ni:]	/chuni/	rainbow
	[ˈba:'dzi:]	/baji/	jacket
/e/	[bə'dze:]	/bəje/	to stand in a group
	[mə'le:]	/məle/	to move one's dwelling
/ɛ/	[pə'dʒɛ:]	/pəje/	for the tide to come in
	[ˈla:'lɛ:]	/ləle/	ribs
/u/	[ˈdʒa:'bu:]	/jabu/	bumble bee
	[mə'ʃu:]	/məchu/	to raise one's hands
/o/	[ˈpha:'lo:]	/phalo/	to tease
/ɔ/	[ˈbɔ]	/bo/	boy
	[ˈkhə'lo:]	/khəlo/	tears
/a/	[ˈba:]	/ba/	mad, insane
	[ˈda-ta:]	/data/	upon
/oa/	[ˈtɔə]	/toa/	body (T)

The Southern Jadiak dialect has a less ramified system of vowels according to Veena (1980:53) (and summarised in Hogan 1983:13 and Sudarat 1984:16). The tense–lax contrast is relevant only for high vowels in Southern Jadiak (lax /i, i:, u, u:/ versus tense /ĩ, iž, ũ, uʔ/). Where Dung still has tongue-height contrasts, though phonetically slight, in the mid vowels (/e, ɛ, o, ɔ/), tongue height varies freely in Southern Jadiak, reducing the system to /e, o/. However, Hogan (pers.comm. 1985) suggests that a reanalysis of the Southern Jadiak dialect may show it to have all the vowels of the Dung dialect.

4. SAMPLE TEXT⁶

Batang muchi thop məkaw pəthaw cwe
beginning in.the.past there said old.people I

nea? than ha. Ngəhaung chidea nyu ʔɛ
copula yet not called God NPH. MKR.

bɔ? məcoːʔ cwe lepa:n yea. Cha? ʔəhut.
do take I other.side only for.a.while

Nyu məkɛ:n yay kədeaw ʔɛ: khənyu jɛ.
CAI Moken said just yes be.there IMP

Məkən ʔɛka:n palɔy pitoh nyu yea.
harpoon fish ray.fish behind there only

⁶ Abbreviations used in this text are: NPH.MKR (nominal phrase marker), CAI (changed actor indicator) and IMP (imperative). A fuller and more precise gloss for *məkən* 'harpoon' is 'I am going by boat to harpoon'.

Lakot nong toa ʔədaʔ lakot nong
 afraid of body big afraid of

kaba:ng kalam. Nyu chidea nyu ngateang
 boat capsized CAI God CAI wait

bunyu ngateang ngateang chea chea chea
 like.that wait wait last last last

ngateang chənah ʔəka:ʔ koreaw lachě: nyəmat
 wait possible no.longer marker book throw

tong ʔəkě:n phet ʔeka:n kəlě:t.
 into water become fish ray

(This story was told by Cakwe, a Moken man of about fifty.)

This story is from long ago in the past, told by the old people. I was not yet born.

God called (to the Moken) "Please take me across to the other side. It won't take you long". Then the Moken said, "Yes, just wait there, I'm going to harpoon the rayfish behind there first". The Moken was afraid that the big body of God would make the boat capsize. Then God waited like that for a long long time, and when he couldn't wait any longer he threw the book (of Moken writing) into the water and it became a rayfish.

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